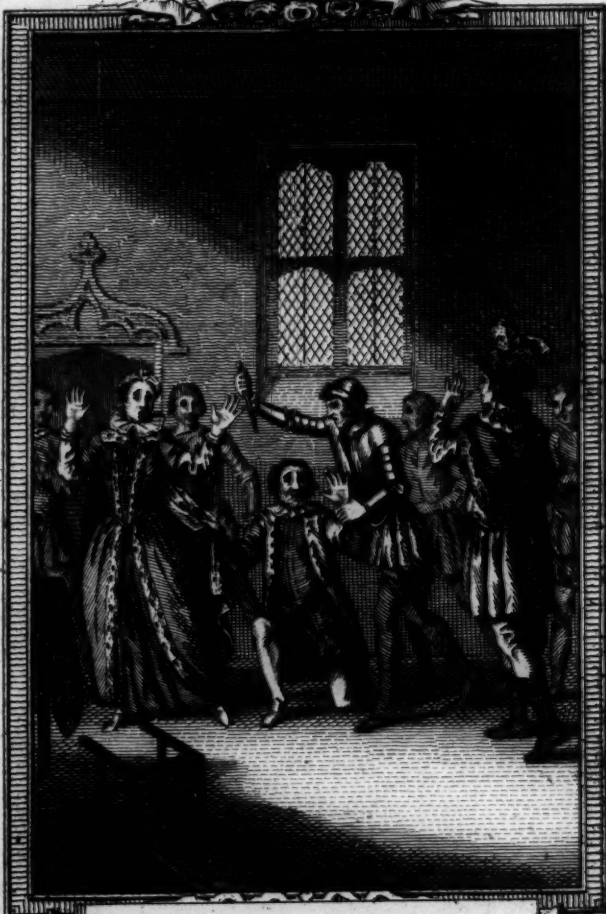


Wale del

*The Murder of David Rizio.*

Collier sc

*Published as the Act directs, 1 Aug. 1774. by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Ch. Yard.*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM THE  
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,  
TO THE  
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT;  
ADORNED WITH PLATES.  
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

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By JOSEPH COLLYER,  
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,  
in Two Volumes Folio.

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VOL. VIII.

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MDGCLXXIV.



*Portrait of an English Nobleman in 1559*  
*From John Wægd.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.



ELIZABETH.



HAT she might not alarm those of the Romish party, she had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but to balance their authority, added eight more, whom she knew were warmly inclined to the Protestant communion; these were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, whom

## THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

she made secretary of state. She frequently deliberated with these counsellors, and particularly with Cecil, on the means of restoring the Protestant religion. Cecil told her, that the greatest part of the nation was inclined to the reformation; and that the cruelties exercised by her sister's ministers, had only served to alienate still farther their affections from the church of Rome; and convinced her, that her own interest concurred with the inclinations of the people. Elizabeth's education leading her to favour the reformation, she did not long remain in suspense; but resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate Mary's example, in encouraging the bigots of her party to persecute those of the established religion. She, however, immediately recalled all the exiles, and set at liberty the prisoners who had been confined on account of religion.

Finding that the Protestant divines, irritated by persecution, furiously attacked the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with equal zeal and acrimony, she prohibited, by proclamation, all preaching without a special licence, which she granted only to such Protestants as were distinguished by their moderation. She also ordered the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, to be read in English. And having directed, that all the churches should conform to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence.

The bishops now foreseeing a revolution in religion, refused to officiate at her coronation; but

but the bishop of Carlisle was at last, with some difficulty, prevailed on to perform that ceremony. On her being conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, being let down from one of the triumphal arches, presented to her the Bible, which she received in the most gracious manner; placed it next her bosom, and declared, that amidst all the costly testimonies the City had that day given her of their affection, this present was by far the most precious and acceptable. By these innocent artifices, Elizabeth gained upon the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable, whenever she appeared in public, she seemed to rejoice in the concourse of her subjects, and to enter into all their pleasures and amusements: and thus, without departing from her dignity, which she well knew how to preserve, she acquired greater popularity than any of her predecessors. Those of her own sex exulted, in seeing a woman hold the reins of government with such prudence and fortitude: and while a young princess, who, at her accession, was only twenty-five years of age, and who possessed all the insinuation and graces, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted by her civilities, the affections of individuals, and by her services, those of the public, her authority, though strengthened by the strictest bands of law and religion, seemed to be entirely derived from the choice of the people.

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Though Elizabeth threw out such hints as encouraged the Protestants, she delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of a parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The two houses met in a disposition to gratify the queen in every thing she could reasonably desire; and began the session with unanimously declaring, "That queen Elizabeth was, and "ought to be, as well by the word of God, "as the common and statute laws of the "realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true "heir to the crown; lawfully descended from "the blood royal, according to the order of "succession settled in the 35th of Henry "VIII." Thus she did not follow Mary's example in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act made against her own legitimacy: but satisfied in the general opinion entertained with respect to this fact, she took possession of the throne both as her birth-right, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament.

The parliament began with a bill for the suppression of the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring to the queen the tenths and first-fruits. This point being gained, a bill was next introduced to annex the supremacy to the crown; and in this bill the queen was denominated *governess*, not *head* of the church: but tho' all the bishops present in the upper house strenuously opposed it: it had the majority of votes in both houses. By this act, the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or convocation, was vested with the whole

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*S<sup>t</sup>. NICHOLAS BACON.*

## E L I Z A B E T H. 7

whole spiritual power, and might repress all heresies, establish or repeal all canons, alter every point of discipline, and ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony.

A law was then passed, in which all the statutes enacted in the reign of king Edward, with regard to religion, were confirmed: the nomination of bishops, without any election of the chapters, was given to the crown; and the queen, on the vacancy of any see, was empowered to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop elect, an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from making leases longer than for twenty-one years, or three lives. Though this law seemed intended to secure the property of the church; yet, as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed.

During this session, a solemn public disputation was held in the presence of the lord keeper Bacon, between the Protestant divines and those of the Romish communion. The champions of the former were triumphant, and the Popish disputants were not only pronounced refractory and obstinate, but punished, by imprisonment. The Protestants, emboldened by this victory, ventured to bring into parliament, a bill for abolishing the mass, and restoring the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were also enacted both against those who did not conform to this manner of worship, and against those who absented themselves from the

## 3 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

the church and sacraments. Thus, in one session, was an alteration made in the whole system of religion, without violence, tumult, or clamour, at the very commencement of the reign of a young woman, whose title to the crown was, by many, esteemed liable to great objections.

In this session the commons voted the queen a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods; and likewise two-fifteenths. At the conclusion of the session, they, with the utmost deference and respect, presented an importunate address to the queen, entreating her to fix her choice of a husband. On which she told the speaker, that as the application from the house only recommended marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or consider it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: that even while a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, and that she had greater reason to do it now; when having the charge of a great kingdom, her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion, and the happiness of her subjects: that England being her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (here she shewed her finger, on which was the same gold ring, in which she, at her inauguration, had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom) all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing and governing

verning such a family, she could not esteem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: that should she even entertain thoughts of changing her condition, the welfare of her subjects would still be uppermost in her mind; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps, better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people: and that for her part, she desired that no fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than when she should pay the last debt to nature, she should have this inscription engraven on her tomb. "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

It is remarkable, that though this was the first session of Elizabeth's reign, and such violent measures had been taken by her predecessor, no person was attainted by the parliament, but on the contrary, some restored in blood.

The parliament was no sooner prorogued, than the laws enacted, with respect to religion, were put in execution with very little opposition. The liturgy in the vulgar tongue was again introduced, and the oath of supremacy tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had, by the preceding sickly season, been reduced to fourteen; and all these, except the bishop of Landaffe, having refused their compliance, were degraded from their sees.

sees. But though there are near ten thousand parishes in England, there were only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, who sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, bearing some resemblance to the ancient service, tended to reconcile those of the Romish communion to the established religion; and the queen permitting no other mode of worship, and at the same time striking out of the new liturgy every thing that could be offensive to the Catholics, they made no scruple of attending the established church.

In the mean time the negotiations for a peace were carried on by the ministers of France, Spain, and England. Philip used his utmost endeavours to procure the restitution of Calais, both as he was bound in honour to indemnify England, which had been drawn into the war merely on his account, and as his interest required him to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Netherlands. While he flattered himself with the hopes of marrying the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after he was deprived of all such views, by the change of religion in England, he appeared willing, tho' all his own terms with France were settled, to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction, provided she would enter into an agreement to adhere to the alliance with him, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course

course of six years. But Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal, and ordered her ambassadors to conclude the negociation, and to settle a peace with Henry on reasonable terms; whence it was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years: that in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain: that if, during that interval, Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland, she should forfeit all title to Calais; and if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged to restore that fortress. People of penetration easily perceived, that these stipulations were intended only to colour the queen's abandoning Calais; but they excused her, on account of the necessity of her affairs; and even applauded her prudence, in submitting to that necessity without any farther struggle.

Notwithstanding the conclusion of this peace between France and England, there soon appeared the foundation of a quarrel, that was at length attended with the most important consequences. The next heir to queen Elizabeth was Mary, queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and her great power and plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The French king had secretly solicited a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth; but the good offices of Philip had been successfully employed in opposing it. The court of France was not discouraged with this repulse. The duke of Guise and his brothers, thinking



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thinking that it would greatly augment their credit, should their niece bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, prevailed on the king to order his son and daughter-in-law, to assume openly both the arms and title of England; and to quarter his arms on all their equipages and furniture. The English ambassador complaining of this, was answered, that as the queen of Scots was descended from the royal blood of England, she was entitled, from the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But as this practice had never taken place, without permission being granted, and a visible difference made between the arms, Elizabeth plainly perceived, that by this pretension, which had not been advanced during her sister's reign, the king of France intended to seize the first opportunity of disputing her legitimacy, and title to the crown. Hence, alarmed at her danger, she entertained a violent jealousy of the queen of Scots, and resolved, if possible, to render Henry incapable of executing his design. The sudden death of that prince, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, on the marriage of his sister with the duke of Savoy, made no alteration in her views: for Francis II. his successor, still continuing to assume the title of king of England, she considered him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the situation of affairs in Scotland now afforded her a favourable opportunity of providing for her own safety, by revenging the injury.

After



After the murder of the cardinal primate at St. Andrews, who was at the head of the Scotch Catholics, many of the English preachers, terrified at the persecutions in England under queen Mary, took shelter in Scotland, where they found a milder administration; and while they propagated their religious sentiments, both filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigotted Papists; and shewed their disciples the fate they had reason to expect from their adversaries. At length some of the heads of the reformers in Scotland, as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Glencarne, Morton, and others, entered privately into a bond or association, and called themselves the Congregation of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established church, which they termed the Congregation of Satan. In this bond, they made the most solemn promises, through the strength of God, to adhere to each other, in support of the doctrines of the reformation; and in contending, at the hazard of their lives, against the congregation of Satan.

Before this league was publickly known, the Romish clergy made an attempt to recover their lost authority, by a violent exercise of power, which greatly tended to enflame the zeal, and encrease the number of their enemies. Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, having embraced the doctrines of the reformation, Hamilton, the primate, having seized him at St. Andrews, condemned him to be committed to the flames for heresy. This

barbarity excited such a general horror, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, in pronouncing sentence upon this reformer; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the inhabitants of St. Andrews shut up their shops, and none could be found who would sell a rope to tie him to the stake; so that the primate himself was obliged to furnish one. Mill bore the violence of the flames with a courage that appeared supernatural, and astonished all the spectators. The people, to perpetuate the memory of his martyrdom, and of the cruelty of the priests who caused it, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution, which was removed by order of the clergy; but the stones were again supplied by the voluntary zeal of the populace.

The people some time after gave the priests reason to apprehend the fate which awaited them. On the festival of St. Giles, the tutelary saint of Edinburgh, it was usual to carry his image in procession; but on the eve of the festival, the Protestants endeavoured to prevent the ceremony, by secretly conveying the statue from the church; and pleased themselves with considering the surprize and disappointment of the votaries of that saint. However, the clergy caused a new image to be made in haste, which the people, in derision, called young St. Giles; and this was carried through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the city and its neighbourhood. While the queen-regent continued a spectator, the multitude abstained from

from offering any violence to the image ; but the moment she retired, they fell upon it, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces ; on which the fright and terror of the priests and friars who fled, became the source of universal mockery and laughter.

The congregation, encouraged by this exploit, proceeded with alacrity in openly soliciting subscriptions to their league ; and the death of Mary, queen of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, which happened about the same time, contributed to encrease their hopes of success. They even presented a petition to the regent, in which they desired a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the prelates, and other ecclesiastics. - They also drew up a petition, which they intended to present to parliament ; in which they required, that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the scriptures should be the sole rule for judging of heresy. They likewise sent a petition to the convocation, in which they insisted, that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue ; that bishops should be chosen by the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners.

The queen-regent, at first, temporized between the two parties ; but afterwards received orders from France, to proceed with rigour against the reformers. She therefore cited the most eminent of the Protestant divines, to appear before the council at Stirling ; but great multi-

tudes of their followers marching thither, in order to protect and countenance them, she was apprehensive of an insurrection; and made the people disperse, by promising them, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers: but a sentence being passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels for not appearing; so ill advised and rash a measure enraged the people, who now resolved openly to oppose the church of Rome, and to abolish all the implements of popery.

At this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in exile; and from his acquaintance with Calvin, had acquired all his zeal. The leaders of the reformation had invited him back to Scotland; and during the present ferment of mens minds, he mounted the pulpit at Perth; preached with his usual violence against the abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for their subversion. After this sermon, a priest imprudently opened his repository of images and relics; when the audience, filled with the most furious zeal, attacked the priest, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vessels. Thence proceeding with additional numbers to the monasteries of the Grey and Black-friars, they instantly pillaged them. The Carthusians underwent the same fate; and the populace, not satisfied with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings, and left nothing standing but the walls. Soon after,  
their

their example was imitated by the inhabitants of Couper in Fife.

These acts of violence provoked the queen-regent, who assembled an army, in order to chastise the people. She had under her command about two thousand French, with a few Scotch troops; and being joined by those of the nobility who favoured her cause, encamped within ten miles of Perth. Upon this occasion, the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent, either from their blaming the fury of the populace, or from the hopes of producing an agreement between the parties. On the other hand, the congregation prepared for their defence; and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable, both from their numbers and their enthusiastic zeal. They sent an address to the regent, in which they insinuated, that if they were pursued to extremity *by the cruel beasts, the churchmen*, they would apply for assistance to foreign powers; and subscribed themselves her faithful subjects, in all things not repugnant to God; at the same time assuming the name of the Faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus. They also applied to the nobility who attended her, in a virulent manifesto, in which they maintained, that their past acts of violence were justified by the word of God. Afterwards they made an address to the established church, to which they affixed this title, "To the Generation of An-

“ tichrist, the pestilent prelates and their *shave-*  
 “ *lings* in Scotland, the congregation of Christ  
 “ Jesus within the same, sayeth.”

The queen-regent, on finding the people possessed of such obstinate zeal, was willing to embrace the counsels of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews; and on her promising an indemnity for past offences, and engaging, that she would not leave any French garrison in Perth, she was received into that city. However, complaints immediately arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation; and the regent, over-ruled by the French counsellors placed about her, is said to have justified it, by declaring, that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; and that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

The congregation, inflamed with zeal, and enraged at their disappointment, before they left Perth, signed a new covenant, in which, besides their engagements for mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to exert their whole power, in destroying every thing that dishonoured his holy name; and this covenant was subscribed, among others, both by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews. The congregation, encouraged by this accession of strength, renewed, at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, the same depredations on the churches and monasteries, as had been before committed at Perth and Couper. The regent now marched against them; but finding their power much increased, concluded a truce for a few days, and passed over with her forces to the Lothians.

The



The reformers besieged and took Perth, whence they proceeded to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury; and finding nothing able to resist them, marched to Edinburgh, where the inhabitants having already anticipated their zeal against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. Meanwhile the regent, with the few forces which still continued with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of receiving a reinforcement from France.

In the mean time, many deserting the army of the congregation from the want of pay, the regent ventured to march to Edinburgh; and by the interposition of the duke of Chetelrault, agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted the malecontents a toleration of their religion; and they, after having engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches, evacuated Edinburgh. Both sides, however, endeavoured, as much as possible, to strengthen themselves. The regent having obtained a reinforcement of a thousand men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the congregation brought over to their party the duke of Chetelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them; and was at last determined, by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had been exposed to many dangers from the jealousy and bigotry of Henry and the duke of Guise. Soon after, more French troops landed under the command of La Brosse, followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, who were well



well supplied with syllogisms and authorities, with which they intended to oppose the Scotch preachers, and which they presumed would produce conviction, by the additional influence of the French arms and artillery.

It is not improbable, from the violent councils by which France was governed, that the French had formed the design of entirely subduing Scotland, of attainting the rebels, and of preparing the means of invading England from thence, in support of Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the congregation being well acquainted with these views, perceived, that their safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures; and having, from their own authority, passed an act to deprive the queen dowager of the regency, ordered all the French troops to leave the kingdom; and collected forces to put their edict in execution. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but being unable to keep the possession of that city for any considerable time; and hearing that the regent's brother, the marquis of Elbeuf, was levying a new army against them in Germany, they thought their present extremity would excuse their applying to England for assistance.

Elizabeth's council did not long deliberate in granting this request, which so well agreed with the views and interest of their mistress. The queen equipped a fleet of thirteen ships of war, under the command of Winter, and sent it to the Frith of Forth; she appointed the young duke of Norfolk, her lieutenant in the northern

northern counties, and assembled at Berwick, under the command of lord Gray, an army of eight thousand men. The court of France now offered to restore Calais immediately, on condition of her not interposing in the affairs of Scotland: but she replied, that she would never put an inconsiderable fishing town in competition with the safety of her dominions, and still continued her preparations. She even concluded a treaty with the congregation for their mutual defence; which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and promised, that till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland, she would never desist.

The French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife, were disconcerted on the appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith, and obliged to make a circuit by Stirling to reach Leith, where they prepared for their defence. The English army, joined by five thousand Scots, invested that town, and soon reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Their distress was increased by two events; the death of the queen-regent, who, about this time, expired in the castle of Edinburgh, and d'Elbeauf's fleet, with a considerable army on board, being dispersed by a storm. The French being in want of provisions, and seeing the English continually reinforced, were obliged to capitulate on the 5th of July 1560; and a treaty was signed at Edinburgh by the bishop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, and by Cecil and Dr. Wotton,

ton, who had been sent thither for that purpose by Elizabeth ; in which it was stipulated, that the French should instantly quit Scotland : that the king and queen of France and Scotland should, from thenceforward, no longer bear the arms of England, or assume the title of that kingdom : that an amnesty should be granted the Scots, including a pardon for all past offences : that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland : that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen of Scots should chuse seven, and the states five ; and that the whole administration should be placed in the hands of these twelve, during the absence of that queen ; and that she should neither make peace nor war without the consent of the states. Elizabeth, in order to hasten the execution of this treaty, sent ships to carry the French forces home.

Thus the queen, by prudently exacting no improper conditions from the Scottish malecontents, obtained their entire confidence ; and having cemented the union by all the ties of interest, gratitude, and religion, now possessed a greater influence over them than even their native sovereign. The respect she obtained by this wise and spirited conduct, gave her more authority, both abroad and at home, than her sister had obtained, though supported by all the power of Spain.

The Scotch reformers being now entirely masters of the kingdom, proceeded with a high hand. As it had been agreed in the treaty of Edinburgh, that a parliament or convocation

tion should be soon assembled, the leaders of the congregation, without waiting till the treaty was ratified by the queen of Scots, immediately summoned a parliament. Now changing sides, they themselves became the persecutors, and presented a petition to the house; in which, not satisfied with the establishment of their principles, they applied for the punishment of the Catholics, whom they termed vassals to the Roman harlot. The parliament appear to have been actuated with the same unchristian spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying their confession of faith, they passed a statute against the mass, which they not only abolished in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever officiated in it, should, for the first offence, suffer confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, that they should be punished with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life. A law which shewed, that they had not yet entertained any idea of religious liberty. By another law, the papal jurisdiction in Scotland was abolished, and the Presbyterian form of discipline settled; leaving at first only some shadow of authority to certain divines, whom they called superintendants.

A messenger sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts, was very ill received by the queen, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without her consent, and refused her sanction to the statutes. But the queen's refusal gave the Protestants little concern. They instantly put the statutes in

in force; abolished the mass; settled their ministers; and, esteeming the property of the clergy a lawful prize, took possession of the greatest part of the ecclesiastical revenues, after having every where committed furious devastations both on the monasteries and churches.

The Protestant nobility now dispatched Morton, Glencarne, and Lidington, to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and to represent the necessity of continuing them. Elizabeth soon found that her interest required her to maintain an union with the Scotch Protestants: for Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by the house of Guise, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. The duke of Guise, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, had engrossed all the authority of the crown. Montmorency, the constable, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power. The princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, his brother, were excluded from all offices; and even Catharine de Medicis, the queen mother, found her influence daily declining. Rigorous punishments had, in the preceding reign, been inflicted on the most eminent of the Protestant party; but the death of Henry II. had, for some time, put a stop to the persecution; and the people who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now listened to their arguments and doctrines. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his  
brothers,

brothers, thinking that it was for his interest to support the established religion, revived the execution of the penal statutes, and necessarily drove the malecontent princes and nobles to exert themselves in defence of the Protestants. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, having declared themselves in their favour, they acquired additional strength from their countenance; and the admiral Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to profess themselves of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, and his high reputation both for valour and conduct, and for the arts of peace and war, also gave credit to the reformers; and the latter, having made a fruitless attempt to seize the king's person at Amboise, every place was filled with distraction, and matters hastened to an extremity between the two parties. But the house of Guise, who had been obliged, by these factions, to remit their efforts in Scotland, were determined not to yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity to seize the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; threw the former into prison, obtained a sentence of death against the latter, and were proceeding to put it in execution, when the noble prisoner was saved by the king's sudden death, on the 4th of December 1561. Upon this event, the queen mother was appointed regent to her son Charles IX; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the king of Navarre was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the constable was recalled to court;



and the family of Guise found a counterpoise to their authority, though they still enjoyed great offices and power.

Elizabeth now saw herself freed from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis; but considering, at the same time, that the English Catholics, who were numerous, and generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, still regarded her as a dangerous rival, she gave orders to Throgmorton, her ambassador, who was a vigilant and able minister, to renew his application to her, to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: but though Mary, after her husband's death, had desisted from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions.

In the mean time the queen mother of France, imputing all the mortifications she had suffered, while Francis lived, to Mary, took care to retaliate them upon her; which rendering her stay in France disagreeable, she had thoughts of returning to her native country. The states of Scotland had sent to invite her over; and she applied to Elizabeth for liberty to pass through England: but that queen let her know, that till she had given her satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she ought to expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured; and this denial filled Mary with the highest resentment.

Elizabeth, probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return home, equipped a fleet under the pretence of pursuing pirates. Mary embarked at Calais; and



and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived at Leith in safety, attended by three of her uncles, and other French courtiers. She had entertained such an extreme fondness for France, that after she was embarked, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast, and never turned them from the beloved object, till darkness intercepted it from her view. Then ordering a couch to be spread for her in the open air, she charged the pilot to awake her, if the land was in sight in the morning, that she might take a parting view of a country, in which were centured all her affections. As the ship had made but little way in the night, and the weather proved calm, she had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast; when, sitting up on her couch, with her eyes fixed on the land, she often repeated, "Farewell France, farewell. "I shall never see thee more." She, however, met with a more agreeable reception in Scotland than she had reason to apprehend. For no sooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had expected her arrival, flocked towards the shore, with eager impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. She was now nineteen years of age, in the bloom of youth, and distinguished by her beauty, which was rendered more attractive by her affability, and the politeness and elegance of her manners: and the Scots having been for a long time deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they had once despaired of ever seeing among them, her arrival appeared to give universal satisfac-

tion; and the court was filled with festivity, affection, and joy.

The first measures embraced by Mary, confirmed all the favourable prepossessions that people had entertained. She followed the advice given her in France, in bestowing her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had the greatest influence on the people, and were alone able to support her government. Lord James, her brother, whom she soon after made earl of Murray, had the chief authority; and after him Lidington, secretary of state, had a principal share in her confidence; and by their activity, they endeavoured to establish order and justice, in a country divided by private feuds and public factions. But there was one circumstance which deprived Mary of that favour which, might have been expected from her prudent measures and engaging deportment. This was her being still a Papist: for though, soon after her arrival, she published a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the ministers and their hearers made this so capital a point, that they could not lay aside their jealousy of her future conduct; and it was not without great difficulty, that she could obtain the permission of having mass said in her own chapel: an indulgence that would never have been granted her, had not the zealots imagined, that upon their refusal, she would have instantly returned to France. The bigotry of the ministers and people was carried to the greatest height. The usual prayers in the churches

churches were, "That God would turn the  
 " queen's heart, which was obstinate against  
 " him and his truth; or if his holy will be  
 " otherwise, that he would strengthen the  
 " hearts and hands of the elect, stoutly to op-  
 " pose the rage of all tyrants." It was even  
 openly called in question, whether, as that  
 princess was an idolatress, she was entitled to  
 any authority, even in civil affairs.

Mary, dining in the castle of Edinburgh,  
 soon after her arrival, a boy six years of age,  
 was let down from the roof, who presented her  
 with a Bible, a Psalter, and the keys of the  
 castle. The assembly of the church also pre-  
 sented her an address, in which, after asserting  
 that her mass was a bastard service of God, the  
 fountain of all impiety, and the source of eve-  
 ry evil that abounded in the realm, they ex-  
 pressed their hopes, that before this time, she  
 would have preferred truth to her own pre-  
 conceived opinions, and have renounced her  
 religion, which, they assured her, was abo-  
 mination and vanity; and that the present a-  
 buses of government were so enormous, that if  
 a speedy remedy was not put to them, God, in  
 his anger, would not fail to strike the head  
 and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful  
 people.

Knox, who possessed an uncontrouled autho-  
 rity in the church, was the ring leader in all  
 these insults on majesty. The usual name he  
 gave the queen was Jezabel, and he treated  
 her with the rudest insults to her face. The  
 pulpits were filled with reproaches against the

vices of the court ; among which were always represented as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. The indignation of the preachers was also excited by some ornaments, which the ladies of that time wore upon their petticoats ; and boldly maintained, that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm.

Mary, who, by her rank, education, and age, was incited to the indulgence of liberty and cheerfulness, was thus, by the absurd severity of these reformers, curbed in all her amusements, and naturally regretted her leaving a country where she had, in early youth, received the first impressions of those manners which were now considered as detestable. Her uncles and the French nobility soon took leave of her, and she was left to the dull society of her own subjects, who were ignorant of all the arts of politeness and civility. She had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion ; yet she herself was a Papist, and that was esteemed a sufficient crime : her behaviour hitherto been irreproachable ; but her sweet and engaging manners, with her gaiety and ease, were considered as signs of a light mind, and a dissolute vanity ; and to the harsh and preposterous treatment this princess received from her subjects, may in part be ascribed the errors of her subsequent conduct.

The ill humour of the reformed clergy in Scotland principally arose from their poverty.

The

The new ministers had hitherto chiefly subsisted on the voluntary contributions of their followers; and in a poor country divided in religious sentiments, this was very scanty and precarious. Applications were repeatedly made for granting them a regular subsistence, and it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with: for the nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, as well as of the friars and nuns, whom they had turned out of their possessions. However, the privy-council, without a parliament, regulated this important matter. They divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty one parts: they assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors: of the remaining seven, three were granted to the crown; and if that was found to answer the public expences, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was entrusted with the power of levying all the seven, and of paying, afterwards to the clergy, what should be thought sufficient for their support. Yet the necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and Mary's little regard to the Protestant divines, still rendered their revenues contemptible and precarious; and this induced the preachers to support their authority by affecting a furious zeal for religion, and great severity of manners. But the liberality of subsequent princes, afterwards put them on a better footing with respect to their revenues; and by that means corrected, in some degree, these bad habits.

Mary

Mary soon found, that her only expedient for preserving the tranquility of her kingdom, was to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by her services, had acquired such authority over her subjects. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, she dispatched Lidington, her secretary, to London, with her compliments to the queen, and to express her desire of maintaining a friendship and good correspondence with her; and to desire, that this friendship might be cemented by Mary's being declared successor to the crown of England. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper time. Elizabeth replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly assumed the title of queen of England, and pretended a superior right to her throne: that though her ambassadors, and those of her husband's the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and had even incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partizans had every where the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as spurious and illegitimate: that while affairs were on this footing, and her pretended claim was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, she should be guilty of the most egregious imprudence, were she to fortify the hands of a  
pretender



pretender to the crown, by declaring her the successor: that though she was willing, from her friendship to her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, her present refusal to relinquish them could only proceed from her own prepossessions, and was a proof, that she still harboured dangerous designs against her. That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions to succeed her, either by the laws or by right of blood. That she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and considering the injury she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence if she promised to do nothing that might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate her title.

Elizabeth, in order to put the matter to a fuller proof, offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form, again required her to ratify that treaty. At last Mary offered to renounce all her present pretensions to the crown of England, on condition of Elizabeth's agreeing to declare her the successor; but that princess would never consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession on a rival queen.

Elizabeth observing that Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects,



subjects, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of Scotland, wisely employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and in promoting the happiness of her people. She regulated the coin, which had been debased by her predecessors; made some progress in paying the debts of the crown; furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms; introduced into the kingdom the art of casting brass cannon, and of making gun-powder; fortified her frontiers next Scotland; frequently reviewed the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing the free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so greatly increased the shipping of her kingdom, by building vessels of force, and suggesting the like undertakings to the merchants, that she was stiled the queen of the Northern seas, and the restorer of naval glory. Her frugality enabled her to execute those signal enterprizes with the greater certainty and success; and, in her conduct, all Europe saw the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well concerted measures.

Though the queen had made some declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would keep her resolution; and therefore every one who had any probability of succeeding, made proposals of marriage to a princess who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown. The archduke Charles, the emperor's second son, and Casimir, the son of the elector Palatine, made their applications; and the latter being of the reformed religion, entertained,

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on that account, great hopes of succeeding in his addressees. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holstein, also became her suitors; and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was recommended to her by the states of that kingdom, as a suitable match. Even some of her subjects entertained hopes of success, though they did not openly declare their pretensions. The earl of Arundell, tho' declining in years, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, who was much esteemed for his personal merit. But lord Robert Dudley, a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, appeared the most likely to succeed, as by his address and flattery, he had, in a manner, become her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels; whence people long expected that he would be preferred above all the princes who had addressed her. The queen, however, gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, that encouraged their pursuit; and thus allowed them to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions, in order to attach them to her interest. It is even probable, that though she resolved never to share her power with any man, a mixture of female coquetry made her not displeased with the courtship and professions of love which she received on all sides.

Though Elizabeth resolved never to produce an heir, she seems to have been determined that none, who had any pretensions to the succession, should ever have one. By her father's exclusion of the posterity of Margaret, queen

of Scotland, the right to the crown devolved to the house of Suffolk ; and the lady Catharine Gray, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heiress of that family. This lady had married lord Herbert, the earl of Pembroke's son ; but being divorced from that nobleman, had privately married the earl of Hertford ; and soon after consummation, her husband travelled into France. In a little time, she appearing to be pregnant, Elizabeth was so enraged, that she confined her in the Tower, and summoned her husband to appear, in order to answer for his conduct, in marrying without the queen's consent. He made no scruple of obeying the summons, and acknowledging the marriage ; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth now issued a commission to enquire into the affair ; and Hertford not being able, within the time limited, to bring witnesses to prove the marriage, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. As they were still detained in custody, they found means, by bribing their keepers, to see each other ; and another child was the fruit of this intercourse, which giving fresh vexation to the queen, she caused Hertford to be fined by the star-chamber fifteen thousand pounds, and gave orders for his being more closely confined. In this condition he lay nine years, till Elizabeth, being freed from all fears by the death of his wife, she restored him to liberty. This extreme and unjust severity, could only proceed either from the

the jealousy of the queen, who was afraid that any, who had a claim to the crown, should acquire credit by having issue, or by her envying, in others, those pleasures of love, and those which arise from having posterity, to which she had renounced all pretensions.

It is now necessary to take a view of the transactions in France. The queen-regent, who, at the death of her son Francis, had been re-instated in authority, formed a plan of administration, in which she gave equal authority to the Catholics and the Protestants; and by dividing the power between the duke of Guise and the prince of Condé, endeavoured to render herself necessary to both; but she found it impossible to preserve a firm concord in so delicate a situation. An edict had been published, granting toleration to the Protestants; but the interested views of the duke of Guise, under the pretence of religious zeal, produced a disagreement; and the two parties, after the tranquility of a moment, renewed their mutual insults. Coligni and Andelot, assembling their friends, flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency getting the king's person into their possession, obliged the queen-regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were raised, and in motion in different parts of France: each province, city, and family, was agitated with intestine rage: the father was against the son; the brother against the brother; and women themselves sacrificed their timidity to their religious fury. Wherever the reformed prevailed, the images were broken,

the altars pillaged, and the monasteries destroyed : where success attended the Romans, they burned the Bibles, they obliged married persons to perform the ceremony a-new, and re-baptize their infants ; both sides employed themselves in plunder, desolation, and blood-shed. Even the parliament of Paris, though the seat of law and justice, put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the Catholics to massacre those who were called Hugonots. Philip, king of Spain, dreading lest the doctrines of the reformed should spread into the provinces of the Netherlands, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, for the suppression of what was termed heresy ; and now sent six thousand men, with a supply of money, to reinforce the Catholic party. The prince of Condé finding himself unable to oppose their united force, sent to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth ; and offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English, on condition of three thousand men being sent for its garrison, three thousand more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and his receiving a hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, on concluding the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, had suspected, that France would never voluntarily fulfil the article relating to the restitution of Calais, and this suspicion had been confirmed by many subsequent incidents : she therefore wisely concluded, that could she get possession of Havre, which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of more importance than Calais, she should easily oblige

oblige the French to execute the treaty, and should acquire the glory of restoring that ancient possession to the crown of England. She therefore agreed to the proposal; and three thousand English, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings, were sent to take possession of Havre and Dieppe; but the latter was found to be so little capable of defence, that it was instantly abandoned. The Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency, had already laid siege to Rouen; and Poinings found some difficulty in throwing a small reinforcement into that city. Though the English troops behaved with great gallantry, and the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, it was still continued; and the place being at last taken by assault, the whole garrison were put to the sword.

Soon after, the earl of Warwick, the eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived with another body of three thousand English at Havre de Grace, and took on him the command of that city. It was expected, that the French Catholics, elated with their success at Rouen, would have immediately formed the siege of Havre; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to other enterprizes. Andelot, assisted by Elizabeth's negotiations, had raised a considerable body of German Protestants, and enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris, they marched towards Nor-



mandy, in order to engage the English to act in conjunction with them. Mean while the Catholics, under the command of the constable and the duke of Guise, overtaking them at Dreux, a battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides; and it is remarkable, that both Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of each army, were taken prisoners. Guise, however, appeared to have the victory; but the admiral, collecting the remains of his army, subdued some considerable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, to enable him to support his cause, sent him a supply of an hundred thousand crowns.

On the 12th of January 1563, Elizabeth summoned a parliament; and a little before the meeting of that assembly, was seized with the small-pox; when her life being for some time despaired of, the people became more sensible of their dangerous situation, in case of her decease, from the uncertainty which attended the succession to the crown. The nation was divided into factions, by the partizans of the queen of Scots and those of the house of Suffolk; and if the throne should become vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. Hence the commons, on opening the sessions, voted an address to the queen; in which, after mentioning the evils their fathers had experienced from the contending houses of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing a husband, whom they promised, whoever he was, gratefully to receive and obey:

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or if she had any reluctance to the married state, they desired, that the lawful successor might be named, or appointed by act of parliament.

Though the nation was extremely interested in this subject, it was very little agreeable to the queen, who was very sensible, that the decision would be attended with great difficulties. Her fixing the settlement in favour of Mary would be perfectly legal, she being allowed to possess it by right of blood; and though she had been excluded by Henry's will, which derived its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, it would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament should restore the Scottish line to the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to her secret enemies, the Catholics, by these declarations; and saw no security that this princess, if strengthened by the sure prospect of succeeding to her throne, would not, by the assistance of the Catholic princes, revive a claim which she could never yet be prevailed on to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk being only supported by the most zealous Protestants, it was doubtful whether it would obtain such validity, even from an act of parliament, as to satisfy the people. The queen, therefore, rather chose that her subjects should run the hazard of contingent events, than that she herself should visibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients which, at best, would not give the nation entire security. Hence she gave the commons an evasive answer; and at

the end of the session, when the house desired, by their speaker, farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make a more explicit reply.

In the mean time the French factions continued the cruel civil war which had been kindled in that kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy, which he held for the king, but frequently complained of the inactivity of the numerous garrison of Havre, whom the queen restrained from committing hostilities against the enemy. Mean while the duke of Guise, intending to destroy at once the power of the reformers, laid siege to Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. But when he had a prospect of soon reducing that city, he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot. The death of this gallant prince was a sensible loss to the Catholic party; and the danger of their progress now appearing not so great either to Elizabeth or the French Protestants, the leaders of the latter were persuaded to listen to terms of accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling a peace; and being both of them impatient to obtain their liberty, the articles of agreement were soon settled between the parties. A toleration, under some restrictions, was again granted to the Protestants, and a general amnesty was published; Condé was re-instated in his offices and governments, and money being advanced for the payment

payment of the German troops, they were sent out of the kingdom.

It had been stipulated between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé, that a peace should be concluded by neither party without the other's consent; but this was at present little regarded. The leaders of the French Protestants only obtained a promise, that on her relinquishing Havre, her charges, and the money she had advanced, should be repaid by the king of France, and that Calais should be restored to her on the expiration of the term. But disdain- ing to accept of these conditions, and imagining Havre a much better pledge for obtaining her purpose, she sent orders to Warwick to prepare for his defence against the united power of France.

Warwick, who was at the head of the garrison, which consisted of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had employed every means of putting Havre in a posture of defence; and after having expelled the French, he animated his soldiers to defend the town with the greatest obstinacy. The French army was commanded by the constable; and both the queen-regent and the king were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces: but the admiral and Andelot, willing to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their ally. It was expected, that the siege would have been attended with some memorable event; but the English garrison being seized with the plague, and

and its ravages encreased by their fatigue, and their being but ill supplied with provisions, a hundred men sometimes died in a day; and at last there were not fifteen hundred able to do duty. Hence the French, on meeting with feeble resistance, carried on their attacks with success; and having made two breaches, each of which was sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have occasioned the slaughter of the whole garrison. Hence Warwick, who had frequently demanded a supply of men and provisions, was obliged to capitulate; and to be satisfied with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were, however, no sooner signed, than admiral Clinton, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour, with a reinforcement of three thousand men. The infected army, to encrease the misfortune, now brought the plague with them to England, where it swept off such multitudes, that in the city of London alone, there died of it in one year above twenty-thousand persons. It was now agreed, that the hostages given by the French for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

In the mean time the peace with Scotland still continued, and seemed to be cemented by the cordial friendship of Elizabeth and Mary, who every week wrote friendly letters to each other; and had, to appearance, adopted the sentiments, as well as stile, of sisters. The  
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two queens had even agreed to have an interview at York, in order to remove all difficulties with respect to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of a proper method for settling the succession of England: but Elizabeth afterwards made excuses to avoid this interview. Mary's close connections with the house of Guise, was the ground of just and insurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who considered them as her mortal enemies. Her uncles had offered Mary several princes in marriage, and were ready to espouse her to any one who could strengthen their interest, or give inquietude or disturbance to Elizabeth. This last princess was equally vigilant in preventing the execution of their schemes, and told the queen of Scots, that nothing could satisfy her, but her marrying an Englishman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the two kingdoms; and on this condition, offered to declare her successor to the crown of England. After continuing, during a twelvemonth, to treat of this affair, in general terms, she at last mentioned lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary would fix her choice. The queen, however, was far from intending that she should marry this nobleman, who was her favourite; but being desirous that the queen of Scots should never have another husband, she mentioned a man who she imagined was not likely to be accepted; and hoped by that means to gain time, and elude the project of any other



other alliance. Therefore when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to listen to Elizabeth's proposal, she withdrew the bait, and receded from her offer. This duplicity of conduct, joined to Elizabeth's appearing to assume a kind of superiority over her, drew a peevish letter from Mary, and interrupted the seemingly amicable correspondence between the two queens. In order to make up this breach, the queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London.

Melvil, who was a man of great address and fluency of expression, was recommended, by his mistress, not to confine himself entirely to politics and state affairs, but to introduce entertaining subjects of conversation, adapted to Elizabeth's sprightly disposition; and by that means, to insinuate himself into her confidence. In this he succeeded so well as to throw her off her guard, and to make that artful princess discover all the secret levities and follies of her heart. He entertained her with his travels, and mentioned the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, with the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. The queen observed, that she had dresses of all countries, and from thenceforth took care to meet the ambassador every day in a different habit: she was sometimes dressed in the English manner, sometimes in the Italian, and sometimes in the French; and asked him, which of them became her most? He replied, the Italian. This reply  
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he knew would be agreeable to her; because that dress discovered her flowing locks, which, though they were more red than yellow, she fancied to be the finest in the world. She desired to know what was esteemed the best colour of hair, and whether his queen or she had the finest hair; and even enquired, which of them he thought the fairest person: a very delicate question, which he had the prudence to elude, by observing, that her majesty was the fairest person in England, and his mistress in Scotland. She then desired to know, which of them was tallest. He replied, his queen, "Then she is too tall, said Elizabeth; for I myself am of a just stature." On his informing her, that his mistress sometimes amused herself by playing on the harpsicord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she ordered lord Hunsdon to lead him, as if by accident, into an apartment where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if ravished with the harmony, burst into the room where the queen was seated, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion; but took care to enquire, whether he thought Mary or she performed best on that instrument. In short, Melvil, on his return to Scotland, exposed Elizabeth's weakness, and assured his mistress, that she had no reason to expect any cordial friendship from her.

Two years having been spent in evasions and artifices, the Scots thought it full time that their queen was married; and lord Darnley, the son of the earl of Lenox, was the person  
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in whom most peoples wishes centered. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, Henry the Eighth's niece, and the earl of Angus's daughter, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, and being now in his twentieth year, handsome, tall, and finely proportioned, it was hoped, that he would soon render himself agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and by marrying him, she might unite both their claims, and being by birth an Englishman, could not, by his power or alliances, give Elizabeth the least room for suspicion.

Elizabeth, on being informed of the projected marriage of Darnley to the queen of Scots, was secretly not displeased, though she rather wished, that Mary would continue single. Hence, in order to pave the way to it, she secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attainder, and to restore him to his honours and estates; and afterwards hearing that the negociation for Darnley's marriage was carried on with apparent success, she permitted that nobleman, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland: but she no sooner heard, that Mary was pleased with his person, and that every thing was prepared for their marriage, than she exclaimed against it: sent to order Darnley to return immediately to England, and committed the countess of Lenox, with her second son, to the Tower. Elizabeth had some motives

tives of interest for pretending to be displeased on this occasion; for it served as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which she was determined never to consent.

Mary's marriage with lord Henry Darnley was attended with so many inviting circumstances, that the queen and her council precipitately agreed to it; and she being allured by his youth, beauty, and exterior accomplishments, at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which were far from corresponding with the excellence of his external figure. Addicted to low pleasures, he was incapable of the genuine sentiments of love and tenderness; and was destitute of gratitude, from his thinking that no favours could equal his merit. He was at the same time violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; credulous, and easily governed by flatterers. Mary, in the first effusions of her fondness, took a pleasure in exalting him: she granted him the title of king: in all public acts, joined his name with her own, and intended to have procured for him, from the parliament, a matrimonial crown; but afterwards having leisure to observe his weakness and his vices, she resolved to proceed with more reserve in the trust she conferred upon him. The resentment he shewed upon this occasion, served only to encrease her disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her imagined neglect, resolved to be revenged on every one whom he esteemed the cause of this change.

## 50 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

At this time there was in the court one David Rizio, who had lately obtained the queen's confidence and favour in a very extraordinary degree. He was the son of a musician in Turin; and being himself a musician, he followed an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent into Scotland to pay his compliments to Mary, soon after her first arrival. He had a good ear, and a tolerable voice; and the queen retained him in her service, after his master's departure, to complete her band of music. Some time after, her secretary for French dispatches having incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person, and insinuating himself into her favour. His servile condition had taught him suppleness of spirit, and an artful address; by which means he made so good an use of the access which his fortune had procured him, that he was soon considered as the queen's chief confidant, and even minister. He was consulted upon every occasion; and as his recommendations had great influence on the queen, the whole train of suitors and expectants were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery. Rizio, far from taking care to abate the envy which always attends such extraordinary and rapid changes of fortune, strove to display the whole extent of his favour. He affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public; he equalled the greatest of the nobility in the richness of his dress, and in the number of his attendants; and in all his behaviour,

haviour, discovered that assuming insolence, with which an ignoble mind is inspired by unmerited prosperity. It was with the utmost indignation that the nobles beheld the power, and it was with the greatest difficulty they bore with the arrogance of this unworthy minion; and they could not forbear treating him, even in the queen's presence, with marks of contempt. Nor was it his exorbitant power alone which exasperated the Scots: they considered him as a dangerous enemy to the Protestant religion, and suspected, that he held a secret correspondence with the court of Rome. Darnley had the misfortune to fall under the management of this man, who, by flattery and assiduity, easily gained on his vanity and inexperience. Rizio's whole influence on the queen was employed in promoting his marriage. But afterwards, on her majesty's affections being cooled, Rizio refusing to humour him any longer in his follies, he imputed the queen's coldness not to his own behaviour, but to the favourite's insinuations. These suspicions were confirmed and strengthened by Mary's conduct. She treated this stranger with the utmost familiarity: he was perpetually in her presence; intermeddled in every business; and, together with a few favourites, was the companion of her private amusements. Darnley could not bear the interference of such an upstart; and a plan was formed for his destruction, in which were engaged the earl of Morton, the chancellor of the kingdom, with the lords Ruthven, Lindesey, and Maitland.



But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Darnley's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, and promised to protect them against all the consequences that might proceed from the assassination of Rizio.

Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was, on the 9th of March 1566, supping in her bed-chamber with the countess of Argyle, Rizio, and a few domestics, when the king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of the queen's chair. Lord Ruthven, clad in complete armour, and other conspirators all armed, rushed in after him. Mary, terrified at their appearance, started up, and demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. They answered, that they intended no violence against her person, but only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizio, to his deserved punishment. Rizio instantly ran behind his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, begged her to protect him; and she instantly interposed in his behalf, with her cries, menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey; and, by overthrowing every thing which stood in their way, encreased the horror and confusion of the scene. Ruthven drew his dagger, and, with a furious mein and voice, commanded Rizio to leave a place of which he was unworthy. He was then torn from the queen by violence, by the other conspirators, and dragged into the anti-chamber, where he was dispatched by the enraged conspirators, by  
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piercing his body with fifty-six wounds. Mary, being informed of his fate, immediately wiped away her tears, and said, she would weep no more; but would only think of revenge.

The king, with the conspirators, kept possession of the palace, and guarded the queen, who was persuaded to admit the lords Morton and Ruthven, who had committed the murder, into her presence, and to promise to pardon them. The king, in the mean while, stood astonished at the boldness and success of his own enterprize, and uncertain what course to take; when the queen observing his irresolution, employed all her persuasions and caresses to disengage him from his new associates; and prevailing on him to dismiss the guards which he had placed on her person, engaged him to escape with her in the night, and take shelter in Dunbar, attended only by three persons. Here many of her subjects offered her their services; and she having collected an army, which the conspirators were unable to resist, she obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. However, on their applying to the earl of Bothwell, the queen's new favourite, he pacified her resentment, and soon after procured them liberty to return to Scotland.

Mary was implacable against her husband alone, who had employed the power which her liberal and unsuspicious fondness had conferred upon him, in thus insulting her authority: She prevailed on him to disown all his connections

nections with the assassins ; to deny his having any concern in the murder ; and even to publish a proclamation, containing so notorious a falsehood. Having thus rendered it impracticable for him to obtain the confidence of any party, she threw him off with indignation and disdain. She suddenly withdrew to the earl of Marre's seat at Alloa ; and on Henry's following her thither, suddenly returned to Edinburgh ; and every where gave him the strongest proofs of her antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him, and was pleased, that his mean equipage and few attendants drew on him the contempt of the very populace. He was, however, permitted to have apartments in the palace of Edinburgh, where she chose to be delivered. She there brought forth a son, on the nineteenth of June 1566, and immediately dispatched Sir James Melvil, to carry intelligence of this event to Elizabeth. Melvil informs us, that on the evening of his arrival in London, this princess had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was displaying all the spirit and alacrity she usually discovered on these occasions : but no sooner heard the news, than all her joy was damped ; and sinking into melancholy, reclined her head upon her arm, and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was the mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. However, the next day, at the reception of the ambassador, she put on a cheerful countenance, thanked Melvil for his haste in bringing the agreeable intelligence,

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and expressed the most cordial friendship for Mary. Some time after, she sent the earl of Bedford, and her kinsman, George Cary, the son of lord Hunsdon, to officiate at the young prince's baptism, and to present some magnificent presents to the queen.

Mary's partizans in England were inspired with additional zeal, by the birth of her son; and people, even of the most opposite parties, began to cry aloud for the settlement of the succession. This occasioned warm debates in both houses of parliament; and some spirited speeches were made, in one of which Paul Wentworth affirmed, that the queen was bound in duty not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but to shew her regard to their future security, by fixing on a successor; that by a contrary conduct, she shewed herself the step-mother, not the natural parent of her people; and would seem desirous, that England should no longer subsist, than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it. The queen, on hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker; and having repeated some express orders, which she had before sent, to proceed no farther in that matter, bade him inform the house, that if any member still remained unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reasons. As, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, the members still seemed disposed to proceed upon the question, she sent to revoke her orders, and to allow the house liberty of debate. Pleased with this condescension,

sion, they afterwards conducted the subject with more calmness and temper; and even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. Elizabeth soon after dissolved the parliament, and told them, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them had covered very malevolent intentions; but that, however, she reaped this advantage from their attempts, that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies; but concluded with observing, that she did not mean to part with them in anger, and that the greatest part of them might assure themselves, that they went home in her good graces.

Though Elizabeth had received the subsidy without any condition, yet, as it was believed, that the commons had granted it with a view to engage her to yield to their request, she, on her refusal, voluntarily omitted the third payment; observing, that money in the purses of her subjects, was as good as in her own exchequer.

Mean while the friends of the queen of Scots daily multiplied in England; and even many of the Protestants kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and appeared ready to rise at her command. Even the court of Elizabeth was filled with her partizans; and the duke of Norfolk, with the earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Pembroke, Leicester, and most of the considerable men in England, appeared con-  
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vinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. Mary's behaving to the Protestants with such moderation, had procured her universal respect in England; where the public was willing to ascribe every imprudence into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. But these favourable sentiments were soon changed by atrocious crimes, which threw her from the height of her prosperity, into distress and misery.

The earl of Bothwell, one of the most considerable noblemen in Scotland, though undistinguished either by civil or military talents, had made a figure in the party which opposed the earl of Murray, and the rigid reformers. He was profligate in his manners, and his profuse expences had involved his great fortune in such debts, as seemed to leave him no resource, but in the most desperate enterprizes. He had been accused of attempting to assassinate Murray; but having lately obtained Mary's entire confidence, all her measures were directed by his advice, and reports were spread of more particular intimacies and familiarities passing between them, which gained ground from the increase of her hatred towards her husband, who was treated with such neglect by his queen and the courtiers, that he once provided a vessel to transport him secretly into France or Spain. The suspicions against her were even carried so far, that when Henry, dispirited by the continual proofs she gave him of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an extraordinary kind of illness with which he  
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was immediately seized on his arrival there, was ascribed to her having given him a dose of poison.

While things were on this footing, Mary's friends were equally surprized and pleased at hearing, that she had taken a journey to Glasgow, to visit him in his sickness, and not only treated him with great tenderness, but brought him along with her, and seemed resolved to live with him on a more agreeable footing. Henry, far from having any mistrust, had put himself into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but it being in a low situation, and as the noise occasioned by the concourse of people about the court, might disturb him during his illness, these reasons were assigned for sitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field, at some distance. The queen treated him here with the appearance of tenderness; conversed with him with great cordiality, and some nights lay in a room below his; but on the 9th of February told him, that she would pass that night in the palace, on account of the marriage of one of her servants, which was to be celebrated in her presence. About two in the morning the whole town was greatly alarmed at hearing a prodigious noise; and their astonishment was much encreased, on its being discovered, that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gun-powder, and that Henry's body was found at some distance in a neighbouring

bouring field, without any marks of fire, confusion, or violence appearing.

The earl of Bothwell was generally suspected of being the author of Henry's murder; but he was in too great favour with Mary, and possessed of too much power, for any one to venture to express his sentiments openly; and every one remained in silent astonishment. But during the darkness of the night, voices were heard in the streets, proclaiming Bothwell, and even the queen herself, the king's murderers; papers were secretly fixed on the walls to the same purpose; and offers were made to prove Bothwell's guilt openly, upon giving proper securities. But after the court had published one proclamation, offering a reward and indemnity to any person that would discover the author of that villainy, much greater vigilance was employed in searching for those who spread libels and reports against the queen and Bothwell, than in attempting to discover the regicides.

Soon after the earl of Lenox, who lived in poverty and contempt, at a distance from the court, roused by the report of the murder of his son, wrote to the queen, demanding justice against the assassins; among whom he mentioned the earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour, his brother; David Chalmers, with four others of the queen's household; all of them mentioned in the papers affixed to the walls at Edinburgh. Mary, allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, cited Lenox to appear  
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at court, and prove his charge against Bothwell ; while he, as well as all the other persons accused, enjoyed their full liberty ; Bothwell himself was continually surrounded with armed men, still enjoyed his seat in the council, and the same familiarity with Mary as before. Even Edinburgh castle at this time, a place of the utmost consequence, was entrusted to him ; and under him to the same Sir James Balfour, who had been publickly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder. Lenox, who had proceeded as far as Stirling, in order to appear at the trial, on being informed of these circumstances, reflected on the small train with which he was attended ; and beginning to entertain apprehensions from the power and influence of his enemy, wrote to the queen to desire, that the day of trial might be prorogued, conjuring her, for the sake of her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining an affair of such extreme moment. But no regard was paid to his application ; and though Cunningham, one of Lenox's retinue, appeared in court, and protested, in his master's name, against the acquittal of the criminal, a verdict was given in his favour, as neither accuser nor witness appeared. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid against Bothwell for committing the crime on the ninth of February 1567, not the tenth, the real day of Henry's assassination ; by which the queen's secret council had provided a plea, which, at all adventures, ensured a plausible pretence for Bothwell's acquittal.

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A parliament was held two days after this extraordinary trial, which strongly confirmed the general opinion of Bothwell's guilt; yet he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on their first meeting. In this parliament, a rigorous act was passed against those who posted up defamatory papers; but no notice was taken of the king's murder.

An association was now framed, in which the subscribers offered to prove Bothwell's innocence by single combat; and recommending Bothwell to the queen as her husband. Soon after, Mary having gone to Stirling, to pay a visit to her son, Bothwell assembled eight hundred horse, and way-laying her on her return, seized her person near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with a design to force her to marry him. The queen shewed no signs of reluctance upon being thus seized; and Bothwell's officers told Sir James Melvil, who was present, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. However, some of the nobility sent privately to inform her, that if she was detained by force, they would use all their endeavours to set her free; but she answered, that she had, indeed, been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated so well ever since her arrival, that she willingly remained with Bothwell.

This whole proceeding was, at first, ascribed to Mary's desire of finding some colour, to gloss over the infamy attending her purposed marriage. But a few days after, she granted Bothwell a pardon for the violence committed

on her person, and for *all other crimes* : by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. Hence the violence offered to Mary was conjectured to be no more than a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly pardoning a crime, which it would have appeared scandalous to have done openly.

There, however, still remained a difficulty, which, notwithstanding the resolution of the queen and Bothwell, to execute their shameful purpose, was not easy to overcome. He had been married two years before to a woman of merit, sister to the earl of Huntley ; a suit was therefore commenced for a divorce between Bothwell and his wife, in two opposite courts ; in that of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was Popish, and governed by the canon-law, and in the new consistorial-court, which was Protestant, and regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea advanced was calculated to suit the principles that prevailed in each court : in the archbishop's, was employed the pretence of consanguinity, Bothwell being related to his wife in the fourth degree ; and in the consistorial-court, the accusation made use of against him was adultery. Thus Bothwell sued in the former court, and his wife in the latter ; and the affair being carried on with the utmost precipitation, a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days.

On the divorce being obtained, the queen was conducted to Edinburgh ; where, appearing before the courts of judicature, she acknowledged

knowledged herself, to be restored to her entire freedom. The banns were then ordered to be published in the church, between the queen and the duke of Orkney, the title Bothwell now bore; and for that purpose, application was made to Craig, a minister of Edinburgh; who, not satisfied with refusing his compliance, publicly condemned the marriage in his sermons, and exhorted all who had access to the queen, to advise her against so scandalous an alliance. On his being called before the council to answer for his presumption, he shewed a courage that ought to have covered the nobles with shame, on account of their tameness and servility. He afterwards took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed his fears, that notwithstanding all his remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. For this he was again summoned before the council, for exceeding the bounds of his commission; but he boldly told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be esteemed so by the whole world. The council, over-awed by this heroic steadiness in a private clergyman, dismissed him without farther censure.

The queen and Bothwell were, however, resolute to rush forward to their own destruction. The bishop of Orkney, a Protestant, solemnized



nized the marriage on the fifteenth of May 1567, three months and five days after the murder of the king; but he was afterwards deposed by the church for his scandalous compliance. The ceremony was graced by few of the nobility. Le Croc, the French ambassador, though a dependent of the house of Guise, could not be prevailed on to countenance the marriage; and it had been opposed both by Elizabeth and the court of France. Even the Scots, who resided abroad, met with such reproaches, that they did not dare to appear in public; and earnestly exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from public odium, by bringing the authors of such atrocious crimes to condign punishment.

This intelligence, added to a little more leisure for reflection, at last roused the people from their lethargy; and the reports which, from the very beginning, had been spread of Mary's concurrence in the king's murder, seemed to have obtained the strongest confirmation and authority, by all the subsequent transactions; and it was every where concluded, that, though no particular proofs had been yet produced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was not only sufficient to raise suspicion, but to produce entire conviction against her. Some attempts said to be made by Bothwell, with her consent, to get the young prince into his power, also excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility, and even many who had been constrained to sign the application in favour of Bothwell's marriage,

marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers.

The first author of this conspiracy was the earl of Athol, a known Catholic; the earls of Argyle, Glencarne, Marre, Morton, the lords Hume, Lindesey, Boyd, Tullibardine, Semple, secretary Lidington, and Kirkaldy of Grange, entered zealously into it. Lord Hume appearing first in arms, at the head of eight hundred horse, suddenly encompassed the queen of Scots and Bothwell, in Borthwick castle; but they found means to escape to Dunbar. Mean while the confederate lords assembled their troops at Edinburgh. Bothwell soon after took the field, and advanced towards them. The armies met at Carberry-hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; but the queen being soon sensible, that her troops were unwilling to spill their blood in her cause; she had no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and upon some general promises of the confederates, she put herself into their hands. Mary was then conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who not only loudly reproached her with her crimes, but which way soever she turned, held before her eyes a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of James, her infant son; on which, being overwhelmed with her calamities, she burst into tears and lamentations.

Bothwell, during the queen's conference with Kirkaldy, had fled without attendants to

Dunbar; where, fitting out a few small ships, he sailed for the Orkneys, and for some time subsisted by piracy. Being pursued thither by Kirkaldy, the vessel in which he had embarked was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for that crime; while Bothwell himself, having escaped in a boat, found means to get a passage to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and about ten years after died miserably.

It is said, that Mary, in this wretched situation, in the midst of her enraged subjects, behaved with a spirit little suitable to her condition; owned her inviolable attachment to Bothwell, and even wrote him a letter, which was intercepted by the lords, wherein she declared, that she would endure any extremity, and even resign her crown, rather than lose his affection. The malecontents, sensible of the danger to which they should be exposed if Mary should prevail, sent her the next day, under a guard, to the castle of Lochleven, seated in a lake of the same name.

All the jealousies and fears of Elizabeth being removed, by the ruin and infamy in which Mary was involved, she appeared touched with compassion for that unhappy princess, and reflecting on the instability of human affairs, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects, resolved to endeavour to alleviate her calamities. She therefore dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, as her ambassador, to Scotland,

land, empowering him to declare to Mary, in her name, that her late conduct had been so enormous, as to give her the highest offence, and that she had once determined to abandon her as a person whose condition was desperate, and whose honour was irretrievable; but that the late events had filled her heart with tender sympathy, and she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects; but would employ both her good offices and her power to redeem her from captivity, and place her in a condition consistent with her dignity, and the safety of her people; at the same time she entreated her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband, and advised her to send her son to be educated in England.

Throgmorton was also instructed to require the associated lords to restore their queen to liberty, and, in that case, Elizabeth promised to concur with them in every proper expedient for regulating the government, for punishing the king's murderers, and for preserving the life and liberty of the infant prince.

However, the associated lords, being apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality, thought proper, after several delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her; and though he insisted, that the queen should be restored to her authority under very strict limitations, they chose the earl of Murray regent, and sent three instruments for Mary to sign, by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, and  
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by a third to give her sanction to a council appointed to administer the government till Murray arrived from France. The queen seeing no prospect of relief, after a plentiful effusion of tears, signed these three instruments, without taking the trouble to read any one of them : in consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince, who was but thirteen months old, was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. and on the 29th of July following \*, he was crowned at Stirling, the earl of Morton taking, in his name, the coronation oath, in which was a promise to extirpate heresy, and some concessions in favour of the liberty of the people : but Throgmorton was ordered by Elizabeth not to assist at his coronation. Soon after was struck a coin, on which was this memorable saying of the emperor Trajan, PRO ME ; SI MEREAR, IN ME. For me ; if I deserve it, against me.

In a short time the earl of Murray arrived in Scotland, and took possession of his high office. He then paid a visit to the captive queen, and talked to her with severity on her past conduct. He then summoned a parliament, which, after voting that she was an accomplice in her husband's murder, sentenced her to perpetual imprisonment ; ratified her resignation of the crown ; acknowledged her son as their king, and Murray as regent. Murray being possessed of vigour and abilities, now exerted himself with success in reducing the

\* That is, in the year 1567.

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kingdom: in particular, he bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender Edinburgh castle, and forced the garrison of Dunbar to open its gates, and then demolished its fortifications.

Though few of the nobility had shewn any inclination to support Mary, while Bothwell was with her, the sentiments of many of them were changed by his absence; and several of the malecontents lords, observing, that every thing was carried to extremity against the queen, became inclined to embrace her cause. All who favoured the Romish religion were disposed to join them; and though the people in general had a little before detested Mary, on account of her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, her misfortunes filled them with compassion, and they lamented that a queen, possessed of such amiable accomplishments, should be treated with such severity. Hence many of the principal nobility met at Hamilton, to concert measures for supporting her cause.

In the mean time, Mary was employed in contriving the means of escaping from her confinement; and having, by her charms and caresses, engaged George Douglas, a young gentleman, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to promise her his assistance; she gave him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwell should be dissolved, on the plea of force; a proposal she had before made to the regent, who had rejected it. Douglas, who had the opportunity of obtaining admission into the house at all times, on the second of May, 1568, conveyed her, in disguise, into a small boat, which



which he rowed himself. On her landing, she halted to Hamilton, and the news of her arrival there being instantly spread abroad, many of the nobility joined her with their followers; and a bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Crawford, Eglington, Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Errol, Sutherland, nine bishops, and as many barons, besides a number of the most considerable gentry; so that in a few days, she had an army of six thousand men.

No sooner was Elizabeth informed of Mary's escape, than she dispatched a messenger to Scotland, to offer that princess both her good offices and the assistance of her forces: but apprehending that she might be assisted by French troops, she desired that the dispute between her and her subjects might be referred by that princess entirely to her arbitration, and no foreign troops introduced into Scotland. Elizabeth, however, had not time to exert herself in Mary's favour. The regent hastily assembled his forces; and though they were inferior in number to those of the queen of Scots, he took the field; and on the fifteenth of May, a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, in which the regent obtained a decisive victory; and though Murray immediately put a stop to the effusion of blood, the queen's party was entirely dispersed.

Mary now fled with great precipitation from the field of battle; and, with a few attendants, reached the borders of England. She there deliberated on the next measures proper for her to take. She found

found it impossible to remain in Scotland; was averse, in her present condition, to return to France, where she had formerly appeared with splendor; and besides, had no vessel that could convey her safely thither; and as the late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her flatter herself that she would grant her protection and assistance, she embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England; and entering a fishing boat, landed the same day at Wirkington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle. From thence, she immediately sent a messenger to London, to signify her arrival; to desire leave to visit Elizabeth, and to crave her protection.

It was now necessary for Elizabeth to take some decisive resolution, which respect to her treatment of the queen of Scots. Cecil represented to her, that the party which had de-throned Mary, and had at present assumed the government, was always attached to England; and was engaged by the united motives of religion and interest, to persevere in their connections with Elizabeth; and that their queen, by her attachment to the Catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship, both of France and Spain: that the pretensions of Mary to the English crown, would, were she restored, render her a dangerous instrument in the hands of the house of Guise; and were she once able to suppress the Protestants in Scotland, would unite the Scottish and English Catholics, with those of foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: that,  
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above all, it was requisite to guard the person of that princess, lest she should take the resolution of flying into France, and of attempting, by a foreign force, to recover the possession of her authority: that her desperate fortune and broken reputation, fitted her for any attempt; and if she was once abroad, in the hands of enterprising Catholics, the attack on England would seem as easy to her as that on Scotland; and that the only method she could imagine of recovering her native kingdom, would be first to acquire that crown, to which she would think herself equally entitled; and that the detention of Mary was equally necessary, whether the power of England was to be employed in her favour or against her: that before she granted her assistance, it was necessary for her to know the extent of Mary's guilt; and thence to determine the degree of protection she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects; that as no glory could exceed that of defending oppressed innocence, it was in the same degree infamous, to patronize vice and murder on the throne: and that should the crimes of Mary appear, upon enquiry, as great and certain, as they were believed to be, every measure which policy could dictate against her, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprize, inspired by friendship, would be esteemed laudable and glorious.

These and other observations, induced Elizabeth, to behave on this occasion, with great caution. She instantly sent orders to the lady Scrope,

Scrope, the duke of Norfolk's sister, who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess; and soon after, sent to her lord Scrope himself, and Sir Francis Knolles. They found that Mary had already taken up her lodging in the castle of Carlisle; and they, after expressing the queen's concern for her late misfortunes, told her, that her desire of being allowed to visit their sovereign could not be complied with, till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she had been accused; and that Elizabeth could not with honour appear indifferent, with respect to the assassination of so near a kinsman. Mary, at this unexpected check, burst into tears, and declared that she would willingly justify herself to her sister, and submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend.

This was the point which Elizabeth expected and desired: she instantly dispatched Middlemore to the regent of Scotland, requiring him to desist from his proceedings against the queen's party, and to send persons to London to justify his conduct with respect to her; on which Murray answered, that he himself would take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

Though the queen of Scots had submitted her cause to the arbitration of Elizabeth, she used every evasion possible, to avoid coming to this extremity; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth, to make her persevere in the agreement to which she had at first

consented ; but on Elizabeth's alledging, that it was never meant that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects, but that they should be summoned to appear, in order to justify their conduct towards her ; and that, as she was confident there would be no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies, she was determined to support her cause, and procure her reasonable terms of accommodation : upon these assurances Mary agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners, before those appointed by Elizabeth.

In the mean while, lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles, who lived with Mary at Carlisle, sent Elizabeth an account of her character, which they had carefully studied. That princess, whose mind was unbroken by her misfortunes, was resolute in her purpose, and resolved to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every expedient, rather than abandon her cause. Her affability, insinuating behaviour, and fluency of speech, had already convinced all who approached her, of her innocence ; and she declared her fixed resolution to require the assistance of all her friends in Europe, and even to apply to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of being revenged on her persecutors. Hence it was foreseen that her charms, her spirit and address, if allowed to operate with their full force, might be attended with danger. This induced the court of England, who, under pretence of allowing her a guard, had already, in fact, detained her prisoner, to watch her with greater  
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lance; and as Carlisle afforded her great opportunities of leaving England, she was removed to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire. The conferences were begun at York, and afterwards continued at Hampton-court; where the regent opened fully his charge against the queen of Scots; and, after expressing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, accused her in plain terms of having given her consent and participation in the assassination of the king; and the earl of Lennox also appearing before the English commissioners, implored vengeance for his son's murder, and accused Mary, as being an accomplice with Bothwell, in that crime. But copies of this charge being given to Mary's commissioners, they absolutely refused to return an answer; and grounded their silence on their having orders from their mistress, that if any thing was advanced that might touch her honour, they were not to make any defence, she being a sovereign princess, and not subject to any tribunal; they therefore required, that she should be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence.

The necessary consequence of Mary's commissioners refusing to answer Murray's charge, seemed to put an entire end to the conference. But the English ministers, desiring to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt, Murray was called before the English commissioners, and severely reproved, in the queen's name, for the base imputation he had thrown upon his



sovereign ; and told, that though he had forgot the duty of allegiance, the queen would never overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman ; and desired to know what the commissioners could say in their own justification. Murray, thus urged, produced the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots ; and, among the rest, some of her love-letters and sonnets to Bothwell, all written in her own hand, with other papers, which contained incontestible proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell ; of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the pretended violence offered by Bothwell, in carrying her off. This evidence was strengthened by Murray, with testimonies of some correspondent facts ; and some time after, he added the dying confession of one of Bothwell's servants, who had been executed for the king's murder, and directly charged the queen with being accessory to that crime.

Though Elizabeth was now fully satisfied, she resolved that the most eminent persons of her court, should be acquainted with these transactions, and convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She therefore ordered her privy-council to be assembled, and to render this proceeding more solemn and authentic, added to them the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Warwick, Huntingdon, Shrewsbury, and Worcester. To them were read the proceedings of the English commissioners, with the evidences produced by Murray ; and before them were laid a great number of letters writ-

ten by Mary to Elizabeth, that the hand-writing might be compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent; mention was also made of the refusal of the queen of Scots commissioners, to make any reply. These last commissioners being afterwards called in, Elizabeth observed, that she thought it more decent for their mistress to continue the conferences, than to desire to justify herself in person; and told them, that Mary might either send her reply by a person whom she could trust, or deliver it to some English nobleman, whom she should appoint to wait upon her: but as to her resolution of making no reply at all, it must be considered as the strongest confession of guilt. This subject she afterwards more strongly enforced, in a letter she herself wrote to Mary.

The queen of Scots afterwards made no other answer, than continuing still to demand a personal interview with Elizabeth, which being again refused, she ordered her commissioners, after the conferences were broken off, to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates, as the king's murderers; an accusation, which, on account of its coming so late, its being only extorted by Murray's complaint, and unsupported by the least proof, could only be considered as an angry recrimination upon her enemy.

An end being thus put to the conferences, the regent complained that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; upon which Elizabeth not only dismissed him, but

lent him five thousand pounds to bear the expences of his journey. Yet, notwithstanding these and other marks of favour, she still declined to acknowledge the young king, or to treat Murray as regent of Scotland.

The queen of Scots was next removed from Bolton, where there were many Catholics, to Tettbury in Staffordshire, and entrusted to the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth now flattered herself that Mary, confounded by the late discoveries, would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests, in which she had been involved, and promised to bury every thing in oblivion, on condition of her agreeing, either voluntarily to resign the crown, or to associate her son with her in the government, while the administration, during his minority, should still be conducted by the earl of Murray: but that high spirited princess refused to treat upon such terms, and declared, that she was resolved to die queen of Scotland; insisting that Elizabeth should either assist her in recovering her authority, or allow her to go to France, and try the friendship of other princes. But the queen, sensible of the danger of both these proposals, resolved to detain her still in captivity.

As there was at present no princes of the blood, the duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility, and was the first subject in England. He had acquired the affections of the people by his affability and beneficence; and his moderation and prudence made him possess the favour of his  
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sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been considered as the leaders of the Catholics, and this had procured him the friendship of the most considerable persons of that party: but being educated among the reformers and being sincerely devoted to their principles, his maintaining the strict regularity of life by which the Protestants were then distinguished, procured him the happiness of being popular, even with the two opposite parties. He was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, several of his friends, and particularly the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland, proposed his marrying the queen of Scots: and to bind his interest the faster with Mary's, it was proposed that the duke's daughter should espouse the young king. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent was considered both by Murray and Norfolk, as essentially necessary to the success of this scheme. But Norfolk, knowing her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots, dreaded lest Elizabeth would never agree to it; and therefore, attempted first to gain the consent and approbation of the most considerable of the nobility; and was successful with the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Suffex, Pembroke, Arundell, Bedford, Derby, Shrewsbury, Southampton, lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. Even the earl of Leicester, notwithstanding his being the favourite of Elizabeth, and his having formerly entertained the thoughts of marrying

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rying Mary, resigned his pretensions, and appeared to enter with great zeal into this affair.

This general combination of the nobility was produced by other motives besides affection to the duke. Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, being the most vigilant and prudent minister ever known in this kingdom, was governed by no views but the interest of his queen, which he constantly pursued. Uninfluenced either by prejudice or affection, he checked the sallies of passion and caprice, to which she was sometimes subject. But the more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to envy; and he being supposed to adopt the interest of the house of Suffolk, his enemies were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Norfolk being therefore sensible of the difficulty he should meet with in controuling the councils of Cecil, especially when they concurred with the queen's inclinations, did not dare to acquaint her with his intentions of marrying Mary; but still proceeded in engaging more of the nobility to approve his measures. Leicester wrote a letter to Mary, signed by several other persons of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, on such conditions as should be for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly that she should give security, that Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, should enjoy the crown of England; that an offensive and defensive alliance should be concluded between their realms and subjects; that the Protestant religion should be legally established in  
Scotland;

Scotland ; and that an amnesty should be granted to all who had opposed her in that kingdom. Mary returning a favourable answer to this application, the kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures ; and though it was always supposed, that Elizabeth's consent was to be obtained before this alliance was completed, it evidently appeared to be Norfolk's intention, by his proceeding such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, as to put it out of her power to refuse it.

The vigilance both of the queen and of Cecil, rendered it impossible, that these proceedings should escape their notice. Elizabeth dropped several intimations to the duke, which shewed that she was acquainted with his designs, and frequently cautioned him, to beware on what pillow he reposed his head : but he wanted the courage and prudence to inform her of his intentions. Leicester was the first who gave her certain intelligence of this dangerous combination, and afterwards she was more fully acquainted with the particulars by Murray, who had proposed, for his own safety and that of his party, that Elizabeth should really be the entire arbiter of the conditions, and should have her free consent, without its being extorted from her by any confederacy of her own subjects. The court of England was greatly alarmed at this information, and the more so, as these intrigues were attended with alarming circumstances.

Among



Among those who appeared to enter into Norfolk's views, were many zealous Catholics, who would gladly have placed Mary on the throne of England. The leaders of this party were the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north; and the former sent Leonard Dacres to the queen of Scots, with an offer to free her from confinement, and to convey her to Scotland, or to any other place to which she should chuse to retire; and several persons of high rank, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views, and desired that a diversion should, in the mean while, be made from Flanders, in order to facilitate the execution of their scheme. Norfolk, whose duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of carrying on his design by rebellion, discouraged these conspiracies, and, in appearance, suppressed them.

As Norfolk was a man of honour and good principles, his fear of punishment, and hopes of pardon, rendered him an easy prey to his enemies. To repress the surmises spread against him, he told Elizabeth, that his estate in England was of more value than the revenue of a kingdom, ravaged by factions and civil wars; and assured her, that when he amused himself in his own tennis court at Norwich, in the midst of his friends and vassals, he thought himself a petty prince, and was fully contended with his condition. Finding that she remained unconvinced, and that he was regarded

garded by the ministers with a jealous eye, he retired to his seat without taking leave. But soon after, repenting of this step, he set out on his return to court, in order to use every expedient to regain the queen's favour; but Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, seized him at St. Albans, and conveyed him to Burnham, three miles from Windsor; and he was soon after committed to the Tower. Lesly, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots ambassador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council: the earl of Pembroke was confined in his own house, and Arundell, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were taken into custody. The queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, and all access to her was, for some time, strictly prohibited.

In the mean while a report prevailing, that a rebellion was breaking out in the north, Elizabeth dispatched orders to Northumberland and Westmoreland, to appear at court, and answer for their conduct. They had, however, proceeded so far, that they did not dare to trust themselves in her hands. They had communicated their design to Mary, and engaged the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands, to promise them not only a reinforcement of troops, but a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send to London Chiapini Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, under the pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen; but, in reality, to place himself at the head of the northern rebels. Northumberland at first remained

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remained in suspense; but being informed, that some of his enemies were advancing in order to arrest him, he instantly took horse, and hasted to the earl of Westmoreland, whom he found encamped with his friends and vassals. The great credit of these two noblemen, with the zeal for the Popish religion, which prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drawing together a great number of the common people, they published a manifesto, in which they asserted their unshaken allegiance to the queen; and maintained, that their sole intention was to restore the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to give liberty to the duke of Norfolk and other peers. Their number amounted to sixteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot; and they expected to be joined by all the Papists in England.

Elizabeth, by her prudent conduct, had acquired the good will of the people in general; so that in most counties the Catholics themselves had an affection for her service: the duke of Norfolk himself, notwithstanding his having lost her favour, and being in confinement, promoted the levies among his friends and retainers. At length Suffex, attended by the earl of Rutland, and the lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, at the head of seven thousand men, marched against the rebels, who dispersed without striking a blow, the common people retiring to their houses, while their leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland being found skulking in that country, Murray imprisoned him in the castle of Lochleven,

Lochlevin. Westmoreland was protected by the chieftains of the Kers and Scots of Mary's party, whom he persuaded to make an inroad into England; in which, having committed great ravages, they retreated into their own country.

This sudden and precipitate rebellion was soon after followed by another, raised by lord Dacres, which was quelled by the lord Hunsdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, without any other assistance. Those who had joined in these rash enterprizes, were punished with great severity; and no less than eight hundred persons are said to have suffered by the hands of the executioner. The queen was, however, so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own house, under some appearance of confinement; only engaging him to promise, that he would not proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scotland.

Mary had now recovered, by means of her own natural good sense, from that infatuation into which she appears to have been thrown, while she was attached to Bothwell; and behaved with such modesty, judgment, and dignity, that she charmed all who approached her; and her friends were enabled to deny, on plausible grounds, the crimes with which she had been charged. Compassion, on account of her situation, incited all of her party to be active in promoting her cause; and as her delivery could by no means be effected, without endan-

gering the established government, Elizabeth had little reason to expect tranquility while she continued her prisoner. The queen endeavoured to support the measure she had adopted; and to guard against the mischiefs to which it was exposed, by every prudent expedient. She still observed an ambiguous conduct between Mary and her enemies in Scotland; perpetually carried on a negotiation, in relation to the terms of her being restored; made her constant professions of friendship; and endeavoured, by these artifices, both to prevent her taking any desperate step for her delivery, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never omitted their solicitations. This deceit was received by the queen of Scots with the same deceit; and professions of confidence were returned by professions no less insincere. But Mary, who equalled Elizabeth in address, activity, and spirit, had always the unhappiness to be inferior to her illustrious rival in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power. But a different turn was given to their projects, by the sudden death of the regent, who, on the 23d of January 1570, was assassinated by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, to revenge a private injury.

By the death of Murray, who was a person of abilities, and distinguished by his vigour and constancy, Scotland fell again into a state of anarchy. Mary's party assembling, made themselves masters of Edinburgh; and as many of the principal nobility now embraced her cause, it became probable, that though the people

people in general were averse to her, her party would again acquire the ascendant. Elizabeth, in order to check its progress, sent an army, under the command of Sussex, under colour of chastizing the borderers for the ravages they had made; and he entering Scotland, committed hostilities on all the partizans of Mary, who, he said, had offended his mistress, by harbouring the English rebels. Afterwards Sir William Drury was sent with a body of forces, which demolished the houses of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the same faction. Soon after the English armies were recalled, the queen of Scots promising, that, in return, no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that her partizans should deliver up the English rebels.

About this time an event happened, which tended to encrease the vigilance and jealousy of Elizabeth. Pope Pius V. after endeavouring, in vain, to conciliate the friendship of Elizabeth, who had been irritated by the violence of his predecessor, at last issued against her a bull of excommunication, in which he pretended to deprive her of all title to the crown, and to absolve her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and this attack on the queen's authority was probably made in concert with Mary, in order to forward the northern rebellion. This bull was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace, by one Felton, who, scorning either to fly or deny the fact, was seized, condemned, and executed.



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It is now proper to take a view of some events which had passed in France and the Netherlands, in order to shew the reasons of Elizabeth's conduct, with respect to those countries. The league formed at Bayonne, in 1566, for extirminating the Protestants, had reached the ears of Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the reformed, who finding that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, resolved to prevent their enemies from executing their cruel purpose. The reformed, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, being closely united by their religious zeal, and by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, obeyed the summons sent by their leaders, and flew to arms. The king, and queen-mother, were living at Monceaux, in Brie, in great security, when they found themselves suddenly surrounded by Protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters, and must have fallen, without resistance, into their hands, had not a body of Swiss hastened to their relief, and conducted them to Paris. Afterwards a battle was fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was slain fighting bravely, at the head of his troops, the Protestants were totally defeated. Condé, however, collecting his scattered forces, and obtaining a strong reinforcement of German Protestants, again appeared in the field; and investing Chartres, a place of considerable importance, obliged the court again to consent to an accommodation.

Every

Every pacification being employed by the court as a snare to catch the reformed, a plan was artfully laid for seizing the prince and admiral; but they had the happiness to escape to Rochelle, and summoning their party to their assistance, the parties became still more exasperated against each other, and the civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever. The forces of the Papists, commanded by the young duke of Anjou, the king's brother, defeated the Protestants in 1569, at the battle of Jarnac, in which the prince of Condé was slain. Admiral Coligni, however, still supported the cause; and having placed the prince of Navarre, who was then only sixteen years old, and the young prince of Condé, at the head of the Protestants, he animated that party with the desire of rather bravely perishing in the field, than by the hands of the executioner, and raised an army, which being joined by a body of Germans, obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and divide his forces. The admiral then laid siege to Poitiers, when the duke of Guise, emulating the fame his father had acquired by the defence of Mentz, threw himself into the town, and by his valour and conduct, inspired such courage into the garrison, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Instantly all the regard which the Catholics had entertained for his father was transferred to him, and people pleased themselves in running over the great qualities that seemed in a manner hereditary in that family.

Elizabeth, who had steadily fixed her attention on the civil wars of France, was far from being pleased with the honour acquired by Guise, and being solicitous about the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were connected with her own, lent some money to the queen of Navarre; employed her authority, in their favour, with the German princes, and permitted Henry Champernon to raise, and carry into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, among whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, who then began to distinguish himself by his bravery. But Coligni engaging in battle with the duke of Anjou at Moncontour, was wounded and defeated.

The court of France now vainly imagined, that the power of the rebels was entirely destroyed, and therefore neglected making any preparations against an enemy that seemed incapable of becoming dangerous. They were, however, surprized to find, that Coligni appeared undismayed in another part of the kingdom, where he had assembled an army, and even threatened Paris. In the mean time the treasury, exhausted by fruitless military enterprises, could no longer furnish the sums necessary for a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his antipathy to the reformed, was, in 1570, obliged to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to allow them liberty of conscience. This accommodation, like all the preceding, was nothing more than a snare, by which that perfidious court intended to destroy,

stroy, without danger, its formidable enemies. As the admiral, the two young princes, and the other leaders of the reformed, seemed to disturb the king's intentions, every artifice was used in order to remove their apprehensions; the terms of the peace were religiously observed; all attempts made by the zealous Catholics were severely punished; offices, favours, and honours, were bestowed on the principal nobility of the reformed religion; and both the king and council frequently declared, that they were convinced of the impossibility of forcing mens consciences, and that they were resolved, that every one should enjoy the free exercise of his religion.

Charles, the French king, among other artifices, employed to lull the Protestants into a fatal security, seemed to enter into a close connection with Elizabeth; and the better to deceive her, offered proposals for her marrying the duke of Anjou, a prince whose youth, beauty, and bravery, might naturally be supposed to recommend him to her esteem. On this offer, the queen immediately founded the design of deceiving the court of France. Negotiations were entered into with respect to the marriage; the terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, though equally insincere, seemed daily to approach nearer to an agreement. The principal obstacle appeared to be adjusting the difference of religion; for though Elizabeth recommended toleration to Charles, she was resolved not to grant it in her own dominions,  
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even to her husband. The queen, besides the advantage of discouraging the partizans of Mary, by the appearance of an alliance between France and England, had other motives for dissimulation: her situation, with respect to Philip king of Spain, required the utmost attention and vigilance; and the arbitrary proceedings of that prince in the Netherlands, made her desirous of strengthening herself even by the bare appearance of a new alliance.

The cruelties exercised in the Netherlands, in the reign of the late emperor Charles, against the Protestants, are shocking to human nature; for in that reign Grotius observes, that no less than a hundred thousand of them perished by the hands of the executioner; but at length the humanity of the magistrates rebelling against their principles, they resolved to proceed no farther, and the persecution ceased. Soon after, when Philip succeeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were alarmed lest he, on observing the lenity of the magistrates, should take the execution of the edicts out of their hands, and establish the inquisition in the Netherlands, accompanied with all the barbarities with which it was attended in Spain. His bigotry, with his severe and unrelenting disposition, and his professed attachment to the manners of the Spaniards, encreased their terror; and, on his leaving the Low Countries, with a declared intention never to return, they dreaded the tyrannical orders which he, when surrounded with his Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. Philip left  
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the dutchess of Parma governess of the Netherlands, a princess of an amiable disposition: but the Flemings soon found that she had only the name of regent; that cardinal Granville, the king's favourite, daily encroached on their liberties; that it was resolved never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that they had nothing to expect, but to be reduced to the condition of a province, under the Spanish monarchy. Hence all orders of men shewed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal, and triumphing over the feeble resistance made against them, rose to such a height, that in several towns, and particularly in Antwerp, they openly overthrew the established worship, stripped the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the greatest disorders. The prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, alarmed at these excesses, to which they had at first given countenance, seconded the governess in suppressing these insurrections, in punishing the ring-leaders, and in reducing all the provinces into a state of order and submission. But Philip, not contented with the re-establishment of his ancient authority, resolved to make the late popular disorders a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Netherlands. In the execution of this design, he employed Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, who having been educated in the army, imagined,



imagined, that no measures could subsist between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. In 1568 this general conducted, from Italy to the Netherlands, a powerful body of veteran Spaniards, and soon filled the Flemings with terror and consternation. It does not belong to this history to enter into the particulars of the barbarities exercised by Alva; it is sufficient to say, that all the privileges of the Flemings, the gift of several princes, and which they had inherited for many ages, were openly and expressly abolished; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, notwithstanding their past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into prison, and thence delivered over to the executioner; and in spite of the peaceable submission of the people, nothing was heard of but confiscations, imprisonments, torture, and death.

Elizabeth equally displeased at the extermination of the Protestants, and the erection of so arbitrary a military power in her neighbourhood, afforded protection to all the Flemish exiles who sheltered themselves in her dominions; and they being celebrated for their skill in the arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing some useful manufactures, before unknown in England. Foreseeing that Alva's tyranny could not long subsist, without exciting violent commotions, she ventured to insult him. Some Genoese merchants had contracted with Philip to transport four hundred thousand  
crowns

crowns into Flanders, and the vessels in which this money was embarked, after being attacked in the channel by some privateers, fitted out by the French Protestants, had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton ; when the queen finding that it was the property of the Genoese merchants, she took possession of it as a loan, and thus deprived the duke of Alva of this sum, in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in Flanders, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. This the queen retaliated on the Spanish and Flemish merchants, and allowed all the English leave to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip. But though these differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and reparations mutually made to the merchants, nothing could repair the loss which the Spanish government in the Netherlands suffered from this well-timed blow. Alva wanting money, and dreading the mutiny of his troops, to whom he owed great arrears, imposed on the people, by his arbitrary will, the most ruinous taxes : the people refused compliance : the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of hanging ; and thus matters between the Spaniards and Flemings were brought nearly to the last extremity.

All Elizabeth's enemies sought for revenge by supporting the pretensions of the queen of Scots ; and Alva soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had managed all the intrigues of the court of Rome with the Catholic

tholic nobility and gentry, had, at the discovery of the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary, been thrown into prison, but soon after recovered his liberty. He had formed a scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for subverting the government, by a domestic insurrection, and a foreign invasion ; and having communicated his project by letter to Mary, he found that it met with her approbation. The chief source of their hopes was the great number of discontented Catholics, and the multitude of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who having no prospect of a livelihood suitable to their birth, were ready to engage in any desperate enterprize. To inspire life and courage into these malecontents, it was necessary to have some great nobleman at their head ; and none appeared to Rodolphi, and the bishop of Ross, who engaged in all these intrigues, so proper as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman had indeed promised, on his being released from the Tower, to drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots ; but finding that he had lost Elizabeth's confidence, and that he was still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by his impatience, to renew his correspondence with Mary. That queen again consented to marry him ; and the duke engaged to espouse her cause ; and his remorse gradually diminishing, he entered into the most criminal enterprizes. Rodolphi proposed that the duke of Alva should, on some pretence, assemble a great number of ships, in the ports of the Netherlands, and should

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**CECIL L<sup>d</sup> BURLEIGH**

should thence come over to England with a body of four thousand horse and six thousand foot, which should land at Harwich; where, being joined by the duke of Norfolk and his friends, they should march directly to London, and oblige the queen to agree to whatever conditions they should please to impose upon her, which must have at last ended in dethroning her.

The vigilance of Cecil, who had now the title of lord Burleigh, was not sufficient to discover this conspiracy; but another attempt, diligently traced, led to the knowledge of every circumstance. Mary wanted to send a sum of money to lord Herries, for the use of her party in Scotland; on which Norfolk engaged to have it delivered to Bannister, one of his servants in the north, who was to find some method of conveying it to lord Herries. This money he entrusted to a servant who was not in the secret, telling him that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver with a letter to Bannister: but the servant imagining, from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh, who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hickford, the duke's secretary, to be arrested and strictly examined; and on their being put to the torture, they confessed the whole truth; and as Hickford, though he had been ordered to burn all the papers relating to these transactions, had concealed them under the matts of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, these were discovered, and

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produced full evidence against his master. Norfolk, who had not the least idea of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and though persuaded to atone for his guilt by an ingenuous confession, he persisted in denying every thing laid to his charge. The queen declared, that if he would give her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would pardon all his former offences; but on her finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The bishop of Ross, who before this discovery had been committed to custody, refused to answer interrogatories; but being informed of the confession made by the duke of Norfolk's servants, he made a full discovery: thus that nobleman's guilt was, by his evidence, fully confirmed; and he being tried by a jury of twenty-five peers, was unanimously found guilty.

The queen, however, hesitated, with respect to the execution of Norfolk: she twice signed a warrant for that purpose, and as often revoked it; and though her ministers and counsellors urged her to use rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. At length, after hesitating four months, a parliament was assembled; and the commons addressing her, in strong terms, for the execution of the duke, she consented, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, where he suffered with great fortitude; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which

which he suffered. A few months after, the earl of Northumberland being delivered up by the regent of Scotland, was also brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

Mary was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but being a sovereign princess, who might think herself entitled to make use of every expedient to recover her liberty, Elizabeth did not yet chuse to proceed to extremities against her. She however sent lord Delawar, Sir Thomas Bromley, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction for the various parts of her past conduct: particularly her assuming the arms of England; her allowing her friends to give her the title of queen of that kingdom; her refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; her intending to marry Norfolk, without the queen's consent; her being concerned in the northern rebellion; her procuring the pope's bull of excommunication; and her engaging Rodolphi to prevail on the king of Spain to invade England. Mary endeavoured to justify herself from these charges, either by denying the facts, or laying the blame on others: but Elizabeth was far from being satisfied with her apology; and the parliament was so exasperated against her, that the commons petitioned for her being immediately tried and executed: in this petition they made use of some arguments drawn from reason and the law of nations; but laid the chief stress on passages and examples from the Old Testament. In this the house proceeded further than Eliza-

both intended, and therefore that princess sent to put a stop to their proceedings in relation to the queen of Scots.

Though Elizabeth was unwilling to carry matters to extremities against Mary, she was alarmed at her restless spirit, extensive interest, and close connection with Spain; and thought it necessary to encrease the strictness of her confinement, and to change her conduct with respect to Scotland, which still remained in a state of confusion. Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded Edinburgh castle, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party had taken possession of the capital, and made war on the regent. By an unexpected inroad, they had seized that nobleman at Stirling, when finding that his friends, who were sallying from the castle, would probably rescue him, they instantly murdered him. The earl of Marre, who was chosen regent in his room, found the same difficulties to encounter in the government, and was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude a truce with the queen's party on equal terms. But Marre dying soon after, Morton was chosen regent; and Elizabeth now resolving to exert herself more effectually in the support of the Protestant party, which she had always favoured, sent Sir Henry Killigrew ambassador to Scotland, who found Mary's partizans so intimidated, by the discovery of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the king's authority, and to accept of a pardon for all their past offences.

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On these conditions the most considerable of Mary's friends laid down their arms. The garrison of Edinburgh castle alone continued refractory; Kirkaldy flattering himself with the hopes of receiving assistance from the kings of France and Spain. Elizabeth, alarmed at this, and no longer unwilling to make an entire breach with the queen of Scots, ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to lay siege to the castle. The garrison soon surrendered at discretion; and Kirkaldy being delivered into the hands of his countrymen, was tried, condemned, and executed. Scotland now submitted entirely to the regent; and for a long time gave no farther inquietude to the queen of England.

In France, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the reformed, began to place their utmost confidence in the treacherous professions and caresses of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great penetration, did not entertain the least distrust of Charles's sincerity. Pleased at finding her enemies of the house of Guise deprived of all authority, and observing the growing animosity between the French and Spanish monarchs, she, on the eleventh of April, 1572, concluded an offensive alliance with the former, and considered this as an invincible security to her throne; while Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her the most satisfactory accounts, by every courier, of that perfidious prince's honour and fidelity.

In order to stifle the jealousy of the Protestants, and more particularly of their leaders, Charles offered his sister Margaret in marriage to Henry, prince of Navarre. Coligni, with all the considerable nobility, flocked to Paris, to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which it was hoped would finally put a period to the bloody animosity which subsisted between the Papists and Protestants. The queen of Navarre was, however, poisoned, by orders of the court, and the admiral dangerously wounded by an assassin : yet Charles was still able, by redoubling his dissimulation, to retain the Protestants in their fatal security ; till on the evening of the twenty-fourth of August, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of the Protestants ; and the king himself, in person, led the way in these horrid assassinations. The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the reformed, made them second the fury of the court ; and people of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of having any inclination to that religion, were involved in undistinguished ruin. The admiral, Teligni his son-in-law, Rochefoucault, Lavardin, Piles, Soubize and Pardaillon, who, during the late wars, had distinguished themselves by the most heroic actions, were butchered without resistance ; the streets of Paris flowed with blood ; and the people, still unsatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from the farther effects of their malice, exercised all the rage of the most licentious brutality on the  
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dead bodies. In this massacre, about five hundred persons of rank perished in Paris, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general murder of the Protestants; and in Lyons, Rouen, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. The duke of Guise had even proposed the murder of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; but Charles, pleased with the king of Navarre's amiable manners, and hoping that these young princes would be easily converted to the Catholic faith, spared their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by seeming to change their religion.

To give a colour to this barbarous perfidy, Charles pretended, that he had suddenly detected a conspiracy of the Hugonots to seize his person, which had obliged him to proceed to this severity against them, for his own defence. He now sent to order Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to demand an audience, and to give an account of this transaction. That minister, being a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his master; and made no scruple of declaring, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of a Frenchman; yet he was obliged to comply with his orders, and to make use of the above apology. He met with a reception from all the courtiers, which he was sensible his master's conduct well deserved. The solemnity of his audience was most awful and affecting. On every face sat melancholy and sorrow: perfect silence reigned through the  
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royal apartments: the courtiers and ladies were ranged on each side, in deep mourning, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look, till he was admitted to the queen, who received him with more ease, and heard his apology, without discovering any visible signs of indignation. She then said, that though, on the first rumour of this dreadful affair, she had been filled with astonishment, that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who placed their security on the faith of their sovereign, should have been so suddenly and so barbarously butchered, she had hitherto suspended her judgment, till she had received more certain information: that though the account he had given, if true, might alleviate, it would not remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: that the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, might easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for a trial, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: that it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve the sword of justice in his own hands, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who being the declared and mortal enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy, and without distinction: that if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the Protestants to be real, how much more were they so, if that crime was a mere calumny of their enemies, invented for their ruin and destruction? That if, upon enquiry,

quiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, murdered so many of his brave subjects, and endeavoured to cover him with infamy and dishonour: and that, for her part, she should judge of his intentions by his future conduct; and in the mean time should act as the ambassador desired, and rather pity than blame his master for the cruel extremities to which he had been carried.

Elizabeth was now fully sensible of her own dangerous situation. She saw, in the massacre of Paris, the result of that general conspiracy formed for the destruction of the Protestants; and knew that she herself, as the head and protectress of their religion, was exposed to the utmost resentment and fury of the bigots of the other communion. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards, in the Netherlands, appeared to be another branch of the same conspiracy; and as Charles and Philip, who were nearly allied in bigotry, perfidy, and barbarity, now laid aside their pretended quarrels, and professed the most entire friendship for each other, she had reason to dread the effects of their united councils. The duke of Guise and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive Coligni, had kept at a distance, had now obtained an open and entire ascendant in the court of France; and she was sensible, that from personal, as well as political reasons, these princes were her implacable enemies.

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Besides the queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was a pretender to her throne; and though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit; and besides her foreign allies, had numerous and zealous partizans in the heart of her kingdom. These reasons induced Elizabeth to listen to the professions of friendship still made to her by the French monarch; and even to allow the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with Charles's third brother, the duke of Alençon; those with the duke of Anjou, having been already broken off. In the mean time she prepared for the attack with which she seemed to be threatened, from the united power and violence of her enemies of the church of Rome. She fortified Portsmouth, fitted out her fleet, exercised her militia, strove to encrease her popularity with her subjects, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were equally alarmed at these treacherous and sanguinary measures.

Though Elizabeth took such care to avoid coming to extremities with Charles, her greatest security still arose from the resistance of his Protestant subjects. Those who lived near the frontiers, on receiving the first news of the massacre of Paris, fled into England, Germany, and Swisserland; where, exciting the compassion and indignation of the Protestants, they prepared to return into France, with encreased forces and redoubled zeal, to revenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who resided in the middle of the kingdom, fled to

to the nearest garrisons possessed by the Protestants; and having found that no faith could be given to capitulations, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. Thus the people which Charles had expected to extirminate at one blow, had soon an army of eighteen thousand men, and were in possession of above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses, in different parts of the kingdom; and at the same time, that prince was threatened with being invaded by all the other Protestants in Europe. To such a pitch of resentment were the nobility and gentry of England raised, that they offered to levy an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own expence: but Elizabeth, cautious of enflaming the quarrel between the two religions, refused her consent. The German princes, however, forwarded the levies made by the Protestants; and the young prince of Condé, escaping from court, and placing himself at the head of these troops, prepared to invade France. The king of Navarre, the duke of Alençon, the family of Montmorency, and many considerable persons even among the Catholics, displeased with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the hugonots. Charles, instead of repenting of the cruelties he had committed, called aloud for new severities; nor could the mortal disease with which he was afflicted moderate the rage of his bigotry. He died without male-issue, on the 30th of May 1574, at  
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twenty-five years of age, after having distinguished himself by a mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment, and unrelenting cruelty.

Some time before, Henry, duke of Anjou, had been elected king of Poland; but he no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the crown of France; and found every thing there in the greatest disorder. The people were divided into two religious parties; and as all faith had been violated, and every degree of moderation banished, it seemed impossible to unite them. Each of these parties was devoted to leaders, whose commands had more authority, than those of the sovereign; the Catholics being entirely conducted by the councils of Guise and his family. Henry had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between them, and reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the dissimulation necessary on this occasion; but being deficient in understanding, vigour, and application; instead of acquiring a superiority over both parties, he lost their confidence, and taught each of them to adhere still more closely to their particular leaders. The Protestants, in 1576, obtained the assistance of a German army, under prince Casimer, and the prince of Condé; and received still greater strength, from the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who had fled from court, and now placed himself at their head. Henry entered into a treaty with them, and granted a peace

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to the two sects on the most advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace concluded with the reformed; yet it was no more sincere, on the part of the court, than any of the former; though it disgusted the Catholics, and particularly the duke of Guise; who, from thence, took occasion to reduce his party into a more regular body, by laying the foundations of the famous *League*, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, was levelled at the entire suppression of those who were stigmatized with the name of Hugonots.

Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and to prevent its success against the Protestants, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Catholics; but after some unsuccessful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though less favourable to the Protestants than the former, gave no satisfaction to their enemies. His moderation was suspected by both parties, and each continued to fortify itself against a breach, which, it was foreseen, would speedily ensue.

The king then hoped to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose; but being himself caught in the snare, he sunk into dissoluteness and indolence. Instead of advancing such persons of ability and character as were possessed of the greatest moderation, he placed his entire confidence on young agreeable favourites; who being unable to prop his sinking authority, encreased the general odium against his administration. The public bur-



thens were encreased by his profuse liberality; and the uncontrouled animosity of parties, added to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous, than even an open state of domestic war. The artifices of Henry were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain avowed conduct of the king of Navarre on the one side, and that of the duke of Guise on the other, by degrees drew the generality of the nation to join one or the other of these great leaders.

Elizabeth, besides employing, on every occasion, her good offices in favour of the Protestants, had expended considerable sums in levying the army of Germans, conducted into France by the prince of Condé and prince Casimer; and notwithstanding her negotiations with that court, always considered her own interest as connected with the depression of the house of Guise, and the prosperity of the French Protestants. On the other hand, the king of Spain had declared himself protector of the league; and entering into the closest correspondence with Guise, employed all his authority in supporting his credit; by which means he hoped to subdue his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, who, he hoped, would despair of success, after the entire suppression of the French Protestants, from whom they received great encouragement.

Elizabeth would have been engaged by the same political views to assist the distressed Protestants in the Netherlands, had not Philip's great power kept her in awe, and obliged her  
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to preserve some terms of friendship with that monarch. Hence the Spanish ambassador, representing that many of the Flemish exiles took the ships of his master's subjects at sea, and disposed of their prizes in the harbours of England, the queen denied them an entrance into her dominions. This proved extremely prejudicial to Philip's interest; for these desperate exiles, no longer finding any possibility of subsistence, attacked Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, and made themselves masters of the place. Instantly the people in the neighbourhood of that town, enraged by the cruelty, oppression, and usurpation, under which they, and all their countrymen, laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days, the greatest part of Holland and Zealand revolted from the Spaniards in 1572, and openly declared against Alva's tyranny.

William, prince of Orange, who was distinguished by his noble birth, his personal virtues and immense wealth, was universally considered as the greatest subject in those provinces. He had, by all regular and dutiful means, opposed the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, had wisely fled from the danger with which he was threatened, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. Alva cited him to appear before his tribunal, condemned him in his absence, and confiscated his large possessions in the Netherlands. In return, the prince of Orange levied an army of German Protestants, and attempted to restore

the liberty of the Flemings; but was repulsed by Alva and his veteran Spaniards. However, the revolt of Holland and Zealand, which he had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, induced him again to leave his retreat. He now prevailed on the revolted towns to unite into a league, and inflamed the inhabitants, by exciting their religious zeal, their love of liberty, and their resentment, and from these motives exhorted them to endure the utmost extremities, in defence of their civil and religious privileges. Inspired by this glorious spirit, the inhabitants of Harlem held out till they were reduced by famine; and this brave defence the Spaniards revenged, by the execution of above two thousand of the citizens. This instance of cruelty filled the Hollanders with rage, mingled with despair. At Alcmaer they made a most vigorous resistance, and having finally repulsed Alva, that tyrant solicited to be recalled from his government, and left the Netherlands in 1574, boasting, that during the course of five years, he had delivered into the hands of the executioner eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics.

Requesens was sent from Italy to fill Alva's place; but though he was of a milder disposition, he was unable to remove the hatred of the Hollanders against the Spanish government, and the war was carried on as obstinately as ever. In the siege of Leyden, the Dutch opened their sluices, and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, to prevent their falling again under the odious tyranny

tyranny of Spain. But the governor, notwithstanding this repulse, still carried on the war. The contest appearing extremely unequal between a great monarchy and two small provinces, though fortified by nature, and defended by the invincible courage of the inhabitants, the prince of Orange, and the states of those provinces, in 1575, sent the most humble supplications to Elizabeth, offering her the sovereignty of their country, on condition of her employing her power in their defence.

Though there were many powerful motives that might have induced Elizabeth to accept of this offer, yet this princess, whose ambition was confined to the preservation of the tranquillity of her own dominions, foreseeing, that an open war with Spain, would be the consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces, and that after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards, in honour, abandon them, positively refused the proffered sovereignty; but told the ambassadors, that in return for the good will shewn her by the prince of Orange and the states, she would endeavour to procure an agreement for them on the most reasonable terms. She accordingly sent an ambassador to Philip for that purpose; but though he seemed to take her remonstrances in good part, the war was continued with the same rage as before.

In the mean time Requesens, the governor, died suddenly; when the Spanish troops being

discontented for want of pay, broke into a furious mutiny, and committed the greatest disorders. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht, and Antwerp, murdered many of the inhabitants, and threatened the other cities with making them suffer the same fate. This induced all the provinces, except Luxemburg, to unite for their mutual defence, and to call in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. By common agreement, a treaty was now formed, called the Pacification of Ghent, in which they stipulated to unite in driving away the foreign troops, and in the restoration of their ancient liberties. Don John of Austria, Philip's natural brother, was appointed governor; and finding, on his arrival at Luxemburg, that the states had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance, he consented to the terms required, and the Spaniards were sent out of the country.

These provinces seemed now to breathe a little from their calamities; but an entire peace could not easily be settled, while the king of Spain was governed by the thirst of revenge, and the Flemings were agitated with resentment, for their past injuries, and with fear of future ones. Don John, who was animated by the success which had attended him in his youth, and was inflamed with ambition, had formed a plan for marrying the queen of Scots, and acquiring, in her right, the dominion both of England and Scotland. Elizabeth, who knew

knew his intentions, and had observed, from the union of the provinces, that they would make a long and vigorous defence against Spain, had now no longer any scruple to engage in the protection of their liberties, which appeared to be closely connected with her own safety. After sending them about twenty thousand pounds to pay their troops, she concluded a treaty with them, in which she agreed to supply them with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds upon the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands; for her being repaid within the year. It was also stipulated, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the states: that they should enter into no league without her consent: that she should be arbitrator in any difference that arose among them; and that if any prince should attempt hostilities against her, they should send an army to her assistance, equal to that she employed in their defence.

One of Elizabeth's inducements for entering into this treaty with the states, was to prevent their throwing themselves into the arms of France; and her ambassador was ordered to represent this to the king of Spain as her sole motive. Philip, however, still continued to supply Don John with money and troops; who, notwithstanding his being once repulsed at Rimenant by the English, and opposed both by the army of the states, and by prince Cas-  
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fimer, who had conducted to the Netherlands a large body of Germans, paid by the queen, obtained a considerable advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but in the midst of his prosperity, was cut off by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded the effects of his ambition. The command was then given to the prince of Parma, who was distinguished both by his valour and clemency, and now carried on the war with the Flemings.

England, during these years, enjoyed a profound tranquility, while almost all the rest of Europe was in great commotion. This was chiefly owing to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration. Religion was the capital point on which the political transactions of that age depended; and the queen's conduct, in this particular, had been hitherto much less severe than that of her predecessors. She established no inquisition into mens bosoms; nor did she impose the oath of supremacy on any, besides those who received posts of trust or emolument; and though the exercise of all religion but the established was prohibited, the violation of this law, by saying mass and receiving the sacrament in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at. The queen appeared more anxious to keep a strict hand over the Puritans; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the habits or ceremonies appointed by law, she shewed a determined resolution to punish them by fines and

and deprivation; though her orders were frequently eluded, by the protection these persons received from some of her most considerable ministers. Yet she rigidly maintained her title of governess of the church, and would never permit either the parliament or convocation to attempt, without her leave, the least alteration in the established religion.

This princess was remarkably distinguished by her frugality; which greatly contributed to endear her to her subjects. Indeed, it was sometimes carried to an extreme, yet it did not lead her to amass treasures, but was only used to prevent her laying burthens on her people. Her strict oeconomy enabled her to pay all the debts which she found due from the crown, with their full interest; and the sums which she herself borrowed in the beginning of her reign she repaid, which was at that time an unusual instance of honesty in a sovereign prince. By these means she established her credit on such a foundation, that no prince in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might require. Hence England furnishes few materials for history during her peaceable and uniform government, except the small part she took in foreign transactions.

The most perfect security Elizabeth enjoyed, never exempted her from attention and vigilance; and these dispositions were now excited by the affairs of Scotland. The earl of Morton had hitherto retained that kingdom in a strict alliance with Elizabeth, and had also re-  
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restored the domestic tranquility; but in 1580, the nobility began again to break into factions. Some instances of Morton's avarice disgusted the people; and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenues, increased the general discontent. The regent, who was sensible of his dangerous situation, having dropped some peevish expressions, intimating his willingness to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, who were the favourites of the young king, laid hold of this, and required his resignation. James was then but eleven years of age, yet Morton delivered up his authority into his hands; and the young prince attempted to conduct the administration in his own name. The regent at first retired from the court, and seemed to employ himself entirely in his domestic affairs: but soon returning, acquired an ascendant in the council; and, without resuming the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. Upon this, the opposite party took arms, under the pretence of delivering their king from captivity. Queen Elizabeth, however, interposed by her ambassador, and produced a seeming agreement between the factions; but though Morton kept possession of the government, his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority daily more precarious.

Mean while the count d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, who had been born and educated in France, appearing to the duke of Guise as a proper person for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him  
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with his mother, sent him to Stirling, where James resided, where he soon ingratiated himself into the young monarch's affections; and joining his interest with those of James Stuart, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour; and under the appearance of play and amusement, instilled into the prince's mind new political sentiments, and in particular an inclination to associate his mother with him in the administration of the government. Elizabeth alarmed at the danger, sent her ambassador to accuse d'Aubigny, who was now created earl of Lenox, of being attached to the French, and to warn James against entertaining such dangerous connections. Lenox now finding that the queen had openly declared against him, resolved to ruin Morton, who was at the head of the English interest. That nobleman was therefore arrested in council, accused of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king; and being brought to his trial, was condemned for treason. Morton confessed that the design had been communicated to him by Bothwell, who pleaded Mary's consent, and desired his concurrence; but denied his having ever expressed the least approbation of that crime; and excused his concealing it, by the danger of revealing the secret, either to Mary, an accomplice in the murder, or to Henry, who had not the least degree of resolution. Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Randolph to intercede in Morton's favour; and that ambassador engaged, by his persuasions, the earls of Montrose, Argyle, Glencarne, Marre,

Marre, and Angus, to enter into a confederacy for protecting the life of the prisoner, by force of arms. The queen also endeavoured to over-awe the enemies of that nobleman, by ordering forces to be assembled on the borders; but this only served to hasten his execution. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, and died with that constancy and resolution, by which he had been distinguished during his whole life.

Mean while the king of Spain, to revenge the assistance the queen had given to the Flemings, sent a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, where the inhabitants, being discontented with the English government, and alienated from the queen by their religious prejudices, were ready to join every invader. San Josepho, who commanded this small body, built a fort in Kerry; but being besieged by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he surrendered at discretion; when Gray, whose forces were few in number, finding himself embarrassed by his having so many prisoners, had the barbarity to put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword, and to hang about fifteen hundred Irish: an instance of inhumanity, which justly offended the queen.

Complaints being made of this invasion by the English ambassador, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a brave seaman, who had attacked the Spaniards in the New World, where they thought themselves impregnable; and

and after taking many prizes, sailed to the East Indies, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope; he being the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander in chief: for Magellan, whose ship performed the same voyage, died in his passage. Many apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, strove to persuade the queen, that it would be most prudent to disown the enterprize, punish Drake, and restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and even accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage.

In 1581 a parliament being assembled, enacted some severe statutes for the security of the government, chiefly against the attempts of the Catholics. Whoever reconciled any one to the church of Rome, was declared guilty of treason: saying mass subjected the priest to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of a hundred marks: every one who continued, during a month, absent from church, was to pay a fine of twenty pounds: the uttering of slanderous or seditious words was, for the first offence, punished with the pillory and loss of ears; and the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing such words was made felony, even on the first offence. These severe laws were owing to seminaries founded at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits; where the Catholics sent their children to be educated, and where



they were taught an extreme hatred to the queen, whom they treated as an usurper, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and as one who had been solemnly anathematized by the holy father: and proposed to effectuate their purposes against her by sedition, rebellion, and sometimes assassination. At the same time pope Pius's bull against Elizabeth, excited many scruples among the people of the Romish persuasion; in absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, it commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation, and many of them apprehended, that by this clause, they were obliged, in conscience, to rebel against her, even though no favourable opportunity offered; and that no dangers or difficulties ought to free them from this indispensable duty. But Campion and Parsons, two Jesuits, being sent over to mitigate and explain this article, taught them, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her party, the Catholics were not obliged to obey it, till the pope should think proper to require it by a new summons. Afterwards Campion was taken up for treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, confessed his guilt, and was publickly executed. This was done at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England; and with the greatest appearance of success, prosecuted his marriage with the queen. This severity was doubtless intended by the queen to satisfy her Protestant subjects, that whatever measures she should take, she would steadily adhere to the reformation.

Alençon,

Alençon, who had been created duke of Anjou, had never laid aside his pretensions to Elizabeth; and she, though he was near twenty-five years younger than herself, and knew her only from pictures or descriptions, was pleased with the idea of love and tenderness, afforded her by his addresses. In order to forward his suit, the duke not only employed his brother's ambassador, but sent over Simier, an artful man, of an agreeable conversation; who, instead of serious political reasonings, which he found hurt his master's interest, amused her with gay discourses, on the subject of love and gallantry, and of the tender attachment of his master, the duke of Anjou; a subject which soon produced great familiarity between them. The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed, and always imagined, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to be apprehensive that she was, at last, caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement she had given to her young suitor had, unawares, engaged her affections. He therefore took advantage of the credulity of the times; and to render Simier odious, spread a report, that he had gained an ascendant over the queen, by incantations and love potions. In revenge, Simier strove to discredit Leicester, by revealing to the queen a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to discover; that he had secretly, without her consent, married the widow of the earl of Essex. The queen imagining, that this must proceed from want of respect to her, and

that it was a violation of their mutual attachment, was so provoked, that she threatened to send him to the Tower. The quarrel between Leicester and the French agent was carried to such a height, that the former was suspected of employing a bravo to murder him; and the queen thought proper, by proclamation, to take Simier under her protection. When the queen was rowed in a barge on the Thames, attended by this French agent, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired, which wounded one of the barge-men; but Elizabeth, finding that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person who fired it his liberty, without farther punishment. Indeed she was so far from being apt to entertain suspicions of her people, that she often said, that she would give credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children.

As the duke of Anjou was pleased with the accounts he received of Elizabeth's regard for him, he secretly paid her a visit at Greenwich, and then departed. Though he had not an advantageous figure, it appeared, that he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; for she soon after ordered Burleigh, who was now treasurer, Bedford, Lincoln, Leicester, Suffex, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the ambassadors of France, the terms of the intended contract of marriage. On this occasion, Henry had sent over a splendid embassy; and as the queen had, in a manner, the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled. It

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was agreed, that within six weeks after the ratification of the articles, the marriage should be celebrated ; that the duke and his retinue should enjoy the free exercise of their religion ; that after the marriage, he should bear the title of king, though the administration should remain solely in the queen ; that their children should succeed to the crown of England ; that if there should be two males, the eldest, in case Henry died without issue, should be king of France, and the younger of England ; that if there should be but one male, and he succeeded to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years ; that the duke should promote no foreigner to any office in England, and that the laws and customs of the kingdom should be preserved inviolate.

These articles would have opened but a gloomy prospect to the English, had not the age of the queen, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed to allay their apprehensions. She had proceeded farther in this affair than could be justified by principles of policy ; but was not yet determined to carry matters to a final conclusion. Soon after, she sent Walsingham as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connections with Henry ; and to enter into an offensive and defensive league against the encreasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain ; and in her instructions, she confined Walsingham to negotiate on the conditions of a mutual alliance between England and France. Henry sub-

mitted, with reluctance, to hold conferences on that subject; but Walsingham had no sooner begun to settle the conditions of this alliance, than he was informed, that the queen, foreseeing that this confederacy would produce hostilities with Spain, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage. The court of France, pleased with this change of resolution, instantly broke off the conferences relating to the alliance, and opened a negotiation for the marriage. Matters had, however, not long proceeded in this train, before the queen again declared for the alliance, in preference to the marriage; and Walsingham was ordered to renew the conferences on that subject. But before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, she interrupted him by a new change of resolution; and both the court of France, and the wisest of the queen's ministers, were struck with amazement, and doubted where this contest between ambition and love would at last terminate.

The French king had allowed Anjou to embrace the protection of the states of the Netherlands; and had secretly supplied him with men and money for that purpose: the duke also expected some money from Elizabeth, to enable him to open the campaign in Flanders. The queen, though her frugality made her long reluctant, being at last sensible that this supply was necessary, after much hesitation sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns, which enabled him to take the field against the prince  
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of Parma, and to raise the siege of Cambray: after which, the states chusing him governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came to England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. His reception gave him hopes, that she had now surmounted all her scruples, and was at last determined to make choice of him for her husband. During the pomp attending the anniversary of her coronation, she had a long and intimate discourse with him, and was afterwards seen to take a ring from her finger, and to put it upon his. All the spectators immediately concluded, that she had given him a promise of marriage, and was willing to make it public. The ambassador from the states instantly dispatched a letter to them, to let them know this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, considered the queen as a kind of tutelor deity, expressed their joy by bonfires, and the discharge of their great guns. About the same time Stubbs, a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, published a book, which he intitled, the Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French marriage; for which, being apprehended and prosecuted by the queen's order, he was sentenced to lose his right hand as a libeller. This cruel sentence was executed on a scaffold at Westminster; when such was his constancy and loyalty, that his hand was no sooner cut off, than he took his hat off with the other, and waving it over his head, cried with a loud voice, God save the queen.

Not-



Notwithstanding Elizabeth's thus openly discovering her attachment to the duke of Anjou, her ambition and prudence filled her mind with doubt and hesitation. Almost all her courtiers discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bed-chamber did not scruple to oppose her resolution with very warm remonstrances. Among the other enemies to the match was Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most accomplished young gentlemen of the age, who wrote her a letter, in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution with great force of reasoning, and elegance of expression. He observed, that the security of her government entirely depended on the affections of her Protestant subjects, whom she could not more effectually disgust, than by marrying a prince who was brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, who had himself embued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless Protestants: that her mortal enemies, the Catholics, believing that she had usurped the crown, and was lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication, wanted only a head to conduct their enterprizes; and she herself was rashly supplying them with one, by giving to a prince who, by his education, was zealously attached to that communion, an interest in the kingdom: that France would supply him with partizans, dangerous to a people long unused to war: that as the duke was of a restless and turbulent spirit, and had often violated his loyalty to his elder brother, the French king, there was no

room to hope, that he would passively submit to a woman whom he might, in quality of husband, think he had a right to command : that the plain and honourable path, which she had followed of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy ; and the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her ; and that her own prudence, without either aid or assistance, would be able to baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies. These, and some other reflections equally conclusive, filled the queen with great anxiety ; and she passed several nights without sleep. At length her prudence and ambition prevailing over her temporary inclinations, she sent for the duke of Anjou, and had a long conference with him in private. He, on his leaving her, expressed great disgust ; and throwing away the ring she had given him, cursed the mutability of women. He soon after went over to his government of the Netherlands ; and losing the confidence of the states, by attacking their liberties, was expelled the country ; and retiring into France, died there. Thus the queen saved herself, by timely reflection, from the numerous mischiefs that must have attended so imprudent a marriage.

This happened in 1582 ; and the same year, her attention was strongly engaged by the affairs of Scotland. The influence acquired over the young king by the earl of Lenox and James Stuart, who was made earl of Arran, afforded them but a slender foundation of authority ;

thority; while most of the nobles, and all the preachers, were dissatisfied with their administration. A solemn fast was appointed by the assembly of the church; and on that day the pulpits were filled with complaints against Lennox, Arran, and the other counsellors. The minds of the people being sufficiently prepared by these discourses, the nobility put in execution a conspiracy formed for seizing the person of James at the earl of Gowry's seat at Ruthven; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The king wept on his finding himself a prisoner, on which the master of Glamis, one of the leaders in this enterprize, said, "No matter for his tears. It is better that boys should weep than bearded men:" an expression which James never forgave. He was, however, obliged to submit, and acquiescing in his present fate, not only acknowledged, that the associators had done him acceptable service, but agreed to summon a convention of the states, and an assembly of the church, to ratify that proceeding. Arran was confined in his own house; but Lennox, though he had power to resist, chose, rather than excite a civil war, to retire into France, where he died soon after, persevering to the last in the Protestant religion, to which he is said to have been converted by James. The king afterwards sent for his family, restored his son to his father's estate, and established the fortunes of all his other children.

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This revolution was no sooner known in England, than the queen sent Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir Henry Cary, to congratulate James on his deliverance from the pernicious councils of Lenox and Arran, and to procure his permission for the return of the earl of Angus; who, ever since Morton's fall, had lived in England. Soon after ambassadors arrived from France to enquire into the king's situation, to make professions of their master's friendship, and to procure an accommodation between James and his mother, the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great offence to the clergy, who treated the ambassadors in their pulpits with great rudeness.

The queen of Scots had frequently made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter to her in a more pathetic and spirited strain than usual, craving that princess's assistance, in procuring both her own and her son's liberty. Elizabeth obstructed Mary's restoration, from her foreseeing, that if she recovered any considerable authority in Scotland, her ambition, zeal, and resentment, with her domestic and foreign connections, might enable her, after suppressing the Protestant party in Scotland, to revive her pretensions to the crown of England, which her partizans, in both kingdoms, still supported with great assurance and industry; and on the other hand, if she was reinstated in power, under strict limitations, she might be so disgusted with her situation, as to fly abroad, and form  
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the most desperate attempts. Mary herself was now become sensible of these difficulties; and her age and infirmities having repressed the sentiments of ambition, with which she was formerly actuated, she was willing to sacrifice her hopes of power and grandeur to the enjoyment of liberty. She therefore proposed, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland; but that the administration should solely remain in him; and was even content to live in England, in a private station, with some little degree of restraint. But Elizabeth, apprehending that this would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or at least encourage and encrease her partizans, and enable her to enter upon new intrigues, was secretly resolved to deny her requests; but at the same time appeared disposed to comply with them. She therefore opened a negotiation with the council of state in Scotland for Mary's liberty, and for her being associated with her son in the title to the crown; but refused to let Mary send an ambassador; and the privy-council of Scotland, being instigated by the clergy, refused to treat upon those subjects.

James did not long remain in his present situation; for, escaping from his keepers, he fled to St. Andrews, and summoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Montrose, Argyle, Rothes, and Marthal, hastened to pay their duty to him; and the opposite party were offered a pardon, upon their submission, and acknowledgment of their fault, in  
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seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted the terms; but the greater number left the country, and sheltered themselves in England and Ireland. The earl of Arran was now recalled to court; and his violent conduct and profligate manners soon rendered him extremely unpopular. Though the earl of Gowry had been pardoned for the late attempt against the king, he was thrown into prison, tried on some new accusations, condemned, and executed. Many innocent persons also suffered from the tyranny of this favourite. At length the banished lords, who were assisted by Elizabeth, found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After having failed in one attempt upon Stirling, they succeeded in another; and being admitted to the king's presence, were not only pardoned, but restored to favour: Arran was degraded; deprived of the estate and title he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be reduced to a state of tranquility.

These revolutions would have been of little consequence to Elizabeth, had her own subjects been perfectly united; but the zeal of the Catholics, excited by persecution, daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the ministers, and particularly of Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malecontents; and many arts were employed in detecting conspiracies. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl who had been be-



headed some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundell, the son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the council ordered the latter to be confined to his own house: lord Paget, and Charles Arundell, who had been engaged in treasonable designs with Francis Throgmorton, withdrew beyond sea. The latter, being taken into custody, confessed, that a plan had been laid for an invasion and insurrection, for which he was found guilty and executed; and this conspiracy having been promoted by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, he was ordered to depart the kingdom. Creighton, a Scotch Jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, and threw them over board; but the wind blowing them back into the ship, they were pieced together, and are said to have likewise discovered some dangerous secrets.

As many of these conspiracies were, with the appearance of great probability, imputed to Mary's intrigues, and as her name was employed in all of them, the council imagined, that they could not use too many precautions against the restless activity of her temper. She was therefore removed from the earl of Shrewsbury's care; for though that nobleman was faithful and vigilant, he had shewn great indulgence to her, particularly with respect to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of Sir Drue Drury, and Sir Amias Paulet; men of honour, but inflexibly rigid in their attention and care. The earl of Leicester,

cester, and other courtiers, also set on foot an association; and Elizabeth being beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous Catholics, people of all ranks flocked to subscribe it. This association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her; and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they possessed, by whose suggestion, or in whose behalf, any violence should be offered to her majesty. Mary was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and, to remove all suspicion from herself, desired leave to add her name to the subscription.

Elizabeth, in order to discourage the malecontents, by letting them see the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament on the 23d of November 1584, in which the association was confirmed, and a clause added, empowering the queen to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt, or imagine against her, any invasion, insurrection, or assassination; and the person found guilty was not only excluded from all claim to the succession, but was liable to be punished as her majesty should direct: and for the greater security, in case of the queen's violent death, a council of regency was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to revenge her murder. A severe law was likewise enacted against Jesuits and Popish priests, ordering them to depart the kingdom within

forty days, under the penalty of treason ; and to harbour or relieve them was made felony.

This parliament also presented a petition to the house of lords for a reformation of religion ; in which they desired, that no bishop might exercise the office of ordination, without the concurrence of six presbyters : that no clergyman might be inducted into any benefice without notice being previously given to the parish, that they might examine, whether any objection lay to his life or doctrine ; and that the bishops would not insist upon the incumbents performing every ceremony, or be deprived for omitting part of the service. But the most material article touched upon in this petition, was the ecclesiastical commission, and the oath exacted by that court, called *ex officio*, which being a subject of great importance, as it shews the power of the ecclesiastics, and their arbitrary proceedings against the dissenters of that time, deserves a particular explanation.

Parker, the first primate after Elizabeth's accession, vigorously exacted a conformity to the established worship, by punishing all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted any innovation in the habits, liturgy, or ceremonies of the church, by fines or deprivation. He dying in 1575, was succeeded by Grindall, who being a man of greater moderation, could not be brought to execute the laws against the nonconforming clergymen ; and for this offence, the queen, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal

copal function, and confined him to his own house. He dying in 1583, the queen chose Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who having, in vain, attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was resolved to enlighten their understandings, by the force of persecution. He therefore informed the queen, that the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant, without the sanction of the crown; and there being then no ecclesiastical commission in force, he prevailed on her to issue one more arbitrary than any of the former. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics, and three commissioners made a quorum. These commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, and schisms; and to punish all breaches of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. Their proceedings were contrary to the clearest principles of law and equity; they were directed not only to make enquiries by the legal methods of witnesses and juries, but by every other means they could devise; that is, by torture, by inquisition, or imprisonment. Where they found reason of suspicion, they might administer an oath called *ex officio*, by which the person was bound to answer all questions, and might be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines they levied were merely discretionary, and frequently occasioned the entire ruin of the offender. The imprisonment, to which they sentenced any one, was limited to no other rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a

power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription they thought proper. Though every other spiritual court had, since the reformation, been subject to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, these ecclesiastical commissioners were freed from that restraint, and were liable to no controul. The more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, disorders in marriage, fornication, and misbehaviour, according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In short, this court was a real inquisition, attended with all the iniquities of that tribunal; and being destructive of all laws, its erection was, by many, esteemed a mere usurpation of the queen, that had no other foundation, than a clause of a statute which restored the supremacy to the crown, and empowered the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative.

Notwithstanding the commons, in this humble petition to the upper house, mentioned these ecclesiastical grievances in the most gentle and submissive terms, the queen, in a speech from the throne, took notice of their presumption, and observed, that she would no longer endure this licence, but would guide her people by God's rule, in the just means between the corruptions of Rome, and the errors of modern sectaries; and that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise

eise their private judgment, in curiously canvassing the scriptures, starting innovations, and censuring the actions of the prince.

A conspiracy discovered during this session of parliament, greatly encreased the general animosity against the Catholics. William Parry, a gentleman of the Romish religion, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was liable to capital punishment; and obtaining permission to travel, went to Milan, where he made an open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while in England. Palmio, a Jesuit, there persuaded him, that taking away the life of his sovereign and benefactress was the most meritorious action he could perform; and the nuncio, Campeggio, on being consulted, approved of this pious undertaking; on which Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris with a design to come to England and execute his bloody purpose; and though Watts, and some other Popish priests, told him that the enterprize was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the pope's nuncio at Paris, and resolved to persist in his resolution. While there, he wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como, craving the holy father's absolution, and paternal benediction; and having received an answer from the cardinal, informing him that his design was highly applauded, he came to England with a full resolution to put it in execution. But so deeply are the sentiments of humanity engraven on the heart of man, that it



is difficult for even the prejudices of a false religion utterly to efface them. This bigot now resolved to try, before he proceeded to extremities, whether he could not alleviate the persecution of the Catholics. On his finding the means of being introduced to the queen, he told her, that many conspiracies were formed against her, and endeavoured to persuade her, if she had any regard for her own life, to give greater indulgence to the Romans in the exercise of their religion. He even procured a seat in parliament; but having made a warm speech against the rigorous laws enacted in the last session, was taken into custody, and expelled the house. His failure in these attempts confirming his resolution, he opened his mind to Nevill, who instantly joined in the design. Having agreed to shoot the queen, while she took the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could find no means of escape, to sacrifice their lives in the discharge of a duty, which they imagined to be so agreeable to the will of God. But while they were waiting for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Westmoreland died in exile; and Nevill being the next heir to that family, began to hope, that by performing some acceptable service for the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which the last earl had forfeited by his rebellion. Hence he revealed the whole conspiracy to her ministers. Whence Parry being cast into prison, confessed his guilt both to those ministers, and to the jury by whom he was tried: cardinal Como's letter was also produced in court, and Parry

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having received sentence of death, was accordingly executed.

Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian, about the same time, undertook and executed the assassination of the prince of Orange at Delft, in 1584, as that prince rose from table, in the presence of his wife and sister, by shooting him with a pistol; and thus sacrificed his own life, to destroy the great restorer and protector of religious and civil liberty in the Netherlands. This assassin, satisfied with respect to the sanctity of his motives, which led him thus to destroy the leader of the heretics, shewed not the least remorse for his crime; and on his flesh being torn off with burning pincers, uttered not the least cry or groan.

The Flemings, on seeing the unhappy end of their patriot, whom they considered as their father, were filled with a sorrow, encreased by their forlorn condition, and the progress of the Spanish arms. The prince of Parma had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and invested Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Low-Countries; the loss of which would give a mortal blow to the revolted provinces. The people had now no other hopes but what arose from the prospect of foreign assistance. As they were well acquainted with Elizabeth's caution and frugality, they hoped for better success from France, and offered the sovereignty of their provinces to Henry. But he was obliged to reject so advantageous an offer. The death of the duke of Anjou, which he imagined would have delivered him from that prince's intrigues,

intrigues, plunged him in still deeper difficulties : for the king of Navarre, the next heir to the crown, being a professed Protestant, this induced the duke of Guise to revive the Catholic league, in order to oblige Henry, by the most violent expedients, to exclude that gallant prince. Though Henry was a zealous Catholic, yet, as he declined complying with their precipitate measures, he was considered by the league as the object of their aversion. On his finding that his authority declined, he was constrained to make war on the protestants, and to put arms into the hands of the league ; though, on account of their dangerous pretensions, and their alliance with Philip, he considered them as his worst enemies. The same policy made him afraid of associating himself with the revolted Protestants in the Netherlands ; and forced him to give up that inviting opportunity of being revenged on Philip for all his hostile intrigues.

This reduced the states again to offer Elizabeth to acknowledge her for their sovereign, on condition of her granting them her protection and assistance. The queen's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion, with respect to the conduct she should hold in this critical and important emergence ; but she resolved to steer a middle course, and not to permit the entire subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interest was closely connected with her own : yet, foreseeing that her accepting of their sovereignty would give umbrage to her neighbours, expose her to the reproach of ambition, which she

she had hitherto carefully avoided, and oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, she immediately rejected this offer, but concluded a league with the states on the following conditions: that she should send to their assistance a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, which she should pay during the war: that the general, and two others appointed by her, should be admitted into the council of the states: that neither party should conclude a peace without the other's consent: that she should be paid her expences when the war was concluded; and that, by way of security, the castle of Rammekins, with the towns of Flushing and the Brille, should be put into her hands.

The queen now sent the earl of Leicester to Holland, at the head of her auxiliary forces; and he carried with him a splendid retinue, he being accompanied by his son-in-law, the earl of Essex, the lords Audley and North, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. On his arrival at Flushing, he was received by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and the inhabitants of every town, through which he passed, expressed their joy, by triumphal arches, and the loudest acclamations. The states, knowing Leicester's influence on the queen, in order to engage her to act still farther in their defence, conferred on him the titles of captain-general and governor of the United Provinces; appointed a guard to attend him, and, in many respects, treated him as their sovereign. This had a contrary effect to what they expected. Elizabeth was displeased with this

this artifice, and with Leiceſter's ambition. She therefore reprimanded both; and it was with ſome difficulty, that they were able to appeaſe her reſentment.

America being conſidered as the principal ſource of Philip's power; and he having obtained additional ſtrength by the acquiſition of Portugal, which had extended her conqueſts through the Eaſt-Indies, Elizabeth, on finding that an open breach with the Spaniards was unavoidable, reſolved to attack them in America, the moſt defenceleſs part of Philip's dominions, and ſent thither a fleet, commanded by Sir Francis Drake, with two thouſand three hundred volunteers, under Chriſtopher Carliſle. They firſt took St. Jago, one of the Cape Verde iſlands, on the coaſt of Africa, by ſurprize, and found in it plenty of proviſions; then ſailing weſtward, they landed in Hiſpaniola, and eaſily making themſelves maſters of St. Domingo, by aſſault, obliged the inhabitants to pay a ſum of money to ranſom their houſes. Carthagena, after ſome reſiſtance, fell next into their hands, and was treated in the ſame manner. They burned St. Anthony's and St. Helen's, two towns on the coaſt of Florida; and ſailing along the coaſt of Virginia, found the ſmall remains of a colony, which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and at their requeſt brought them to England. Drake returned with ſuch riches, as encouraged the volunteers, and enflamed the ſpirits of the Engliſh to engage in future enterprizes; and their

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*Habit of S<sup>t</sup>. Philip Sidney Kn<sup>t</sup>.  
in 1580.*

ardour was encreased by accounts of the weakness of the Spaniards in those distant countries.

Leicester, at first, gained some advantage in an action against the Spaniards; and throwing succours into Grave, might have enabled that town to make a vigorous defence; but Van Hemert had the cowardice to capitulate, after a feeble resistance; for which he suffered death, by the sentence of a court-martial. Venlo was besieged and taken by the prince of Parma, who also took Nuys by assault, while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Afterwards the Spaniards besieged Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, commanded by colonel Morgan; when Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma, by forming other enterprizes. He first succeeded in attacking Doesberg, and then invested Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress, that he hastened to its relief, and made the marquis of Guasto advance with a convoy, which he was to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but accidentally meeting with a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were defeated, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the prince of Parma's advancing with the main body of the Spanish army; but the English cavalry found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who having been mortally wounded in the ac-

tion, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. He is described by the writers of that age, as a most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman. Sir Philip's virtuous conduct, heroic valour, elegant erudition, and polite conversation, had rendered him the ornament and delight of the English court; and, as his credit with the queen and the earl of Leicester, was solely employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted to posterity. None was so mean as to be beneath the influence of his humanity. While he was lying in the field, mangled with the wounds he had received in this last action, a bottle of water was brought him, to relieve his thirst; when observing a soldier near him, in the same miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine;" and resigned the bottle of water to him. The memory of Sidney's virtues were celebrated in a copy of Latin verses, wrote by the king of Scots. The states were, however, highly displeased with Leicester's management of the war, and with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and, at the end of the campaign, solicited him to redress their grievances: but without giving them the least satisfaction, he soon after departed for England.

In the mean while, Elizabeth had dispatched Wotton, as her ambassador, to Scotland; but notwithstanding her having given him private instructions, with respect to her affairs, she informed the king, that when she had any political

tical business to transact with him, she would employ another minister; her chief intention in sending him being to entertain him with his wit, and that he might partake with him in his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover the deepest designs under the appearance of a careless gaiety. James admitted him into all his pleasures, on which Wotton soon made himself master of his secrets; and had the more authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention or regard to such things. The Scotch ministers, who observed his growing interest, endeavoured to acquire his friendship, by informing him of every thing they knew of their master. The usual jealousy of Elizabeth, with respect to her heirs, began now to be placed on James, who being of an age proper for marriage, she directed Wotton to form a secret agreement with some Scottish noblemen, to prevent his being married during three years; and, in consequence of this design, they strove to produce a quarrel between him and the king of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland, under the pretence of demanding the restitution of the Orkneys; but really, to make a proposal of marriage between James and his daughter. It is also said, that he formed a conspiracy with some malecontents, to seize the king's person, which he was to deliver up to Elizabeth; but that this conspiracy being detected, Wotton hastily retired from Scotland.

Soon after, a league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions and religion, which was now menaced by the open combination of all the Catholic powers of Europe. It was here stipulated, that if England was invaded, James should assist the queen with a body of five thousand foot, and two thousand horse; that, in a like case, she should send him six thousand foot, and three thousand horse; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; and that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, the latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former.

The character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had early engaged Elizabeth, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, to consult the dictates of policy and jealousy, rather than of friendship or generosity; and her restraint, resentment, and high spirit, concurring with the religious zeal and suggestions of the most cruel bigots, at last engaged her in designs, which afforded her enemies an opportunity of ruining her. The English seminary at Rheims, wrought up by the contagion of the religious fury which prevailed in France, were filled with the greatest rage and animosity against Elizabeth; and revered the bull, by which the pope excommunicated and deposed the queen, as the most just and most honourable method of propagating the faith; some of them asserting, that it had been  
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immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost; and that whoever lost their lives in attempting to murder her, would undoubtedly enjoy the glorious and unfading crown of martyrdom. By these doctrines, John Savage, who had served some years in the Netherlands, under the prince of Parma, was instigated to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent into England, and recommended to the confidence of the most zealous Papists.

John Ballard, a priest, had, about the same time, returned to Paris, from his mission in England and Scotland; and having observed that a spirit of mutiny and rebellion prevailed among the Popish devotees of those countries, formed the design of dethroning Elizabeth, and restoring the exercise of their religion, by force of arms. This enterprize seemed to be favoured by the situation of affairs abroad; for the pope, the Spaniards, and the duke of Guise, had formed the resolution of making some attempt against the queen; and Ballard was warmly encouraged by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, to hope for succour from these princes. But Charles Paget, a devoted partizan of the queen of Scots, being convinced of Elizabeth's prudence, vigour, and popularity, steadily maintained, that it was in vain to expect any success from the invasion of England, while that princess was allowed to live; and Ballard being convinced of this truth, perceived the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: he therefore came



to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assuming the name of captain Fortescue, endeavoured at once to execute the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

Ballard first applied to Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in Derbyshire, a young gentleman of a plentiful fortune, distinguished by his capacity and learning, who was zealously devoted to the Romish communion, and had, some time before, secretly gone to Paris, where he became intimate with Thomas Morgan, a bigotted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. These, by continually extolling the virtues and accomplishments of that princess, rendered him desirous of attempting something in her service. On his return to England, they, unknown to him, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service. Upon which she wrote him a letter, wherein she expressed her friendship and confidence in him. This induced Babington, who was of a warm and zealous disposition, to devote himself entirely to her service. For some time, he conveyed to her all her foreign letters; but, upon her being reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he found this service attended with such difficulty and danger, that he desisted from it.

But Ballard no sooner informed Babington of his intentions, than his former ardour revived, though he represented the folly of every attempt that could be made against the established religion and government of England, during

during the life of Elizabeth. Upon this, Ballard discovered to him what Savage had undertaken, and was pleased to find, that instead of being shocked, he only thought the murder was not sufficiently secure when intrusted to one person, and proposed to join four others with Savage.

Babington now secretly drew into the conspiracy many Catholic gentlemen, who were discontented with the present government. Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire, Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, and Barnwell, who was of a noble family in Ireland, readily undertook to assassinate the queen: but Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Titchborne of Southampton, expressed some scruples, which the arguments of Babington and Ballard at last removed. Savage alone, for some time, refused to share the glory of the enterprize with others; and challenging the whole to himself, was with difficulty persuaded to admit any partners with him.

As it was necessary for effecting the purpose of the conspirators, that the queen of Scots should be delivered at the very instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, Babington undertook to attack her guards with a party of a hundred horse, while she was taking the air on horseback; and in this enterprize, he engaged several persons of family and interest. The conspirators were very desirous of having some nobleman of high rank at the head of the enterprize; but not being able to find one, they flattered themselves that the queen's death, and  
Mary's

Mary's delivery, would induce all the zealous Catholics to take arms, and that the foreign forces they expected, by taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily place Mary on the throne, and restore the Romish religion.

These projects had not, however, escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council. Walsingham had artfully engaged Maud, a Romish priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard to France, and had thus got a hint of their designs. Polly, another of his spies, had insinuated himself among the conspirators in England, and obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of the conspiracy was not fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, coming to England, offered his services to Walsingham.

Babington, and those he had joined with him, imagining that their success was infallible, were impatient to communicate their design to Mary, and to obtain her approbation. For this purpose they engaged Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that by that minister's interest, he might carry on a secret correspondence with the queen of Scots. Walsingham proposed the affair to Paulet, who had then the charge of Mary, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants; but Paulet desiring that some other expedient might be thought of, Gifford bribed a brewer, who supplied the family with ale, to convey letters to the captive queen. By Paulet's contrivance, the letters were thrust through  
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a chink in the wall, and answers returned by the same conveyance. Babington and Ballard, being at first afraid of Gifford's fidelity, gave him only blank papers, in the form of letters; but finding, by the answers, that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside their scruples; and Babington informed Mary of the proposed foreign invasion; the plan of an insurrection at home; that for her delivery, and of the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he called them. Mary answered, that she highly approved of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards it would ever be in her power to grant; and that the death of Elizabeth was necessary, before either her own delivery or an insurrection was attempted. Gifford carried these letters, with others to Mendoza, the archbishop of Glasgow, Sir Francis Ingelfield, and Charles Paget, to secretary Walsingham, who caused them to be decyphered by Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. To obtain a full insight into the plot, Walsingham caused a postscript to be written, in the same cypher, to one of Mary's letters, in which he made her desire Babington, to give her the names of the conspirators. Babington's indiscretion also furnished Walsingham with another means of detection; for he caused a picture to be drawn, in which he himself was represented in the midst of the six assassins; and a copy of it was given to Elizabeth, that, upon seeing them, she might be upon her guard.

Babington

Babington now resolved to send Ballard into France, to hasten the foreign succours; and to procure him a licence to travel, applied to Walsingham, pretending great zeal for the queen's service, and his resolution to make use of the confidence he had gained among the Catholics, in detecting their conspiracies. Walsingham commended him, and promised him his counsel and assistance. But a warrant being issued for seizing Ballard, all the conspirators were terrified, and some advised their immediately making their escape, while others proposed the instant assassination of Elizabeth. However, the next day their fears subsided; for Babington having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, that subtle minister persuaded him, that the seizure of Ballard only proceeded from the usual diligence of informers. Babington even consented to lodge in Walsingham's house, that they might frequently converse together; but soon observing that he was watched and guarded, he escaped, and alarmed the other conspirators, who all instantly fled in different disguises, and concealed themselves in woods or barns: but being soon discovered, were thrown into prison; after which, fourteen of them were condemned and executed, seven of whom acknowledged the crime on their trials, and the rest were convicted by evidence. The discovery of this conspiracy was made in 1583.

Though the detection of Babington's conspiracy was known throughout England, so strictly had every avenue to the queen of Scots been

been guarded, that she remained entirely ignorant of it, till, to her great surprize, Sir Thomas Gorges accosted her by Elizabeth's orders, when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting, and informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and seized. Mary was not permitted to return to her former place of residence, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was placed in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire. Her two secretaries, Curle, a Scot, and Nau, a Frenchman, were instantly arrested; and all her papers being seized, and sent up to the council, there were discovered above sixty different keys to cyphers, with many letters from persons abroad, and several from English noblemen, containing expressions of attachment and respect. Elizabeth took no notice of this discovery; but the persons themselves finding their correspondence detected, endeavoured to atone for their imprudence, by declaring themselves from thenceforward the queen of Scots most inveterate enemies.

Walsingham, with the majority of Elizabeth's council, insisted upon the open trial of the queen of Scots. Indeed the situation of England, and particularly of the ministers, had hitherto been dangerous: no successor was declared to the throne; and the heiress, who was an enemy to the national religion, was, from the injuries she had suffered, also an enemy both to the ministers and the principal nobility, whose personal safety, as well as that of the public, appeared solely to depend on  
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the life of the queen, who began to be advanced in years. Hence Elizabeth's counsellors endeavoured to push every measure against the queen of Scots to extremity; and were even more anxious than Elizabeth herself to prevent her obtaining the crown. It was resolved to try her on an act passed the year before, with a view to this event; and a commission was appointed by the queen, consisting of forty noblemen and privy counsellors, who were empowered to examine and pass sentence on Mary, who was termed the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners going to Fotheringay castle, sent her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and her approaching trial. This intelligence Mary received without emotion; but said, that it appeared strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: but that, being an absolute independent princess, she would yield to nothing that might derogate either from her royal majesty, the state of sovereign princes, or the rank and dignity of her son. In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, to inform her, that her plea could not be admitted, and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to appear before them. When many arguments being used to induce her to submit, she was at last persuaded to promise, that she would answer before the court.

However, on Mary's first appearance before the commissioners, she renewed her protestations

tions against the authority of the judges; but was answered by the chancellor, who pleaded the supreme authority of the laws over every one who resided in England; and matters were accommodated, by the commissioners ordering both her protestation and the answer to be recorded. The charge against the queen of Scots was then opened by the lawyers of the crown; who proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed cardinal Allan, and others, to treat her as queen of England, and that she had endeavoured to engage the Spaniards to invade the kingdom; to which she only answered, that she could not hinder the persons who wrote to her, from using what title they pleased; and that she had a right to try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty. Next was produced an intercepted letter she wrote to Mendoza, promising to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, in case her son should refuse to be converted to the Catholic faith. She even took no pains to deny this part of the charge, but rather seemed to acknowledge it. Evidence was also produced to prove, that Allan and Parsons were, by her orders, negotiating at that very time at Rome, the conditions of transferring the crown of England to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son.

Indeed Mary's prejudices against her son were carried to such a length, that she had even instigated her adherents to seize his person, and deliver him up to the pope, or the king of Spain, who were to set him free on no other

condition, but his embracing the Popish religion.

The queen of Scots positively denied no other part of the charge, except her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. But, in order to prove the accusation, the following proofs were produced: copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which were expressed, in the clearest terms, her approbation of the murder; the evidence of Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, who, without being put to the torture, readily swore, that she received these letters from Babington, and that, by her orders, they had written the answers; Babington's confession, that he had written the letters and received the answers; and the confession of Savage and Ballard, that these letters of Mary, written in the cypher which had been settled between them, had been shewn to them by Babington.

The commissioners having finished the trial, they, on the twenty-fifth of October, adjourned from Fotheringay-castle, to the star-chamber at London; where, having taken the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without the hope of reward, swore to the authenticity of the letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots; and this sentence they confirmed under their hands and seals. The same day the commissioners and judges published a declaration, that this sentence did not derogate from the title and honours of James, king of Scotland, but that he was in the same place, degree, and right,

right, as if this sentence had never been pronounced.

Elizabeth now foresaw the invidious colours in which the execution of this sentence would be represented, by Mary's numerous partizans; that she would be reproached by foreign princes, and perhaps by posterity; and represented, as having violated, in a signal instance, the rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty. She therefore shewed the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected all the solicitations of her ministers and courtiers; and asserted, that nothing but her concern for the safety of her people, made her hesitate a moment in forgiving all the injuries she had received from that unhappy queen.

On the 29th of October Elizabeth summoned a new parliament, which she did not open in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners. The reason assigned for this was, that Elizabeth foreseeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvassed in parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she wanted the courage to be present while it was under deliberation; but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness.

Both houses unanimously ratified the sentence against Mary, and voted an address to Elizabeth, to obtain her consent to its publication and execution. In her answer, she men-

tioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed, and her willingness to die, did she not foresee the calamities her death would produce; she professed the greatest tenderness to her people; mentioned the clemency of her temper, and her violent reluctance to proceed to extremities against her unhappy kinswoman; she maintained, that the late law, by which Mary was tried, was solely intended to give her warning before hand, not to engage in attempts that might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly threatened; and begged them to think again, whether it was possible to find any expedient for securing the public tranquillity, besides the death of the queen of Scots. In obedience to her command, the parliament again took the affair under consideration; but finding no other expedient, they repeated their solicitations and entreaties; and even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them; and affirmed, it would be injustice to deny the execution of the law to any individual, much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. In answer to this second address, she complained of her unfortunate situation; expressed the uneasiness their importunity gave her; renewed her professions of affection to her people, and dismissed the committee of parliament in great uncertainty, with respect to her final resolution. She, however, complied with their request, in publishing the sentence against Mary by proclamation;

tion; and this appeared to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people.

Lord Buckhurst and Beale, clerk of the council, were now sent to inform Mary of the sentence pronounced against her; its ratification by parliament, and that assembly's earnest applications for its execution, from their apprehensions, that their religion could never, while she was alive, be firmly settled and secured. Mary laying hold of this last circumstance, insisted, that as her death was demanded by the Protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was a martyr to her religion, and entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. Paulet, her keeper, who had received orders to take down her canopy, and no longer to serve her with the respect due to sovereign princes, told her, that she was now to be considered as a dead person, and incapable of any dignity. To this she replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and could not be deprived of it by any earthly power.

Mary, after this, wrote to Elizabeth, to desire that her body might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France; there to repose in a Catholic land, with the sacred relics of her mother. She requested, that none might have the power of inflicting upon her a private death, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that she might die in public, in the view of her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith,



and her submission to the will of heaven. She also begged, that these servants might afterwards be allowed to go whithersoever they pleased, and to enjoy the legacies she should bequeath them. Elizabeth foresaw the inconveniencies that would arise from granting some of these requests, and being unwilling to give Mary, in her present situation, a refusal, sent no answer to this letter.

Great efforts were made by France, and particularly by the duke of Guise and the league, to prevent Elizabeth's permitting the sentence to be executed. James, king of Scotland, no sooner heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, than he sent Sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, in which he remonstrated, in strong terms, against the indignity of the whole proceeding; saying, that he was astonished at hearing of the presumption of those English noblemen and counsellors who had presumed to sit in judgment, and to pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the royal blood of England; but was still more astonished at hearing, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution. He entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour she would draw upon herself, by embracing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, who was of the same royal dignity, and of the same sex with herself: that in so unparalleled an attempt, she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own; and, by reducing sovereigns to a level with other people,

ple, she taught them to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that, for his part, he must think the injury and insult so enormous, as to be incapable of atonement; and that, if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with a resolution to revenge the ignominious death of his parent, his own honour required it of him; nor could he even acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use all his efforts, and endure every hazard, to revenge so great an indignity.

James soon after sent Sir Robert Melvil, and the master of Gray, to enforce Keith's remonstrances. Elizabeth appeared, at first, offended with the expressions used in these applications, and answered the Scotch ambassadors in the like strain; but on her afterwards reflecting, that this earnestness was no more than James's duty required, she was pacified.

When Elizabeth was solicited either by James, or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, she always appeared resolved to execute the sentence; but when she was urged by her ministers to use no more delays, her scruples and hesitation returned. The courtiers, however, did not fail to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary; and to combat all the objections that could be urged against it. They repeated to her all the offences that princess had committed against her, and urged, that she was but a titular queen, and, at present, possessed no where any right of sovereignty; much less in England, where,  
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the moment she set foot in the kingdom, she voluntarily became subject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: that even supposing she was the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was a law of nature, never to be abrogated; and every one, much more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy, who, by open violence and secret treachery, endangered her life; and that necessity, which is still more powerful than policy, demanded of the queen a resolution, authorized by equity, and prescribed by duty.

Rumours were now spread of invasions, insurrections, and conspiracies, which must either be attributed to Elizabeth, with a design to alarm the vulgar, and justify her future measures; or to the artifices of her ministers, in order to terrify her, and induce her to agree to Mary's execution. Elizabeth was observed frequently to sit alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to utter half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She at last called Davison, who had been lately made secretary, and ordered him privately to draw up a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, and put in force, in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. This warrant she signed, and then ordered Davison to carry it to the chancellor, that he might affix the great seal to it. The next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, with orders to forbear executing her former orders; and on  
 Davison's

Davison's coming and telling her, that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she appeared to be moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, upon this, was greatly perplexed, and informed the council of what had passed; but they persuaded him to send away the warrant, and promised, if the queen should be displeased, to justify his conduct, and take the whole blame on themselves\*. The secretary was persuaded to comply with their advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with orders for them to see the sentence executed.

The two earls went to Fotheringay-castle, on the seventh of February, 1587; and being introduced to Mary, desired her to prepare for her dying the next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed surprized, but not terrified; and said, with a chearful countenance, she did not think the queen, her sister, would have executed the sentence against one who was not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England.

“ But as such is her will, added she, death,  
 “ which will put an end to all my miseries,  
 “ shall be to me most welcome; nor can I  
 “ esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven,  
 “ which cannot support the body, under  
 “ the horrors of the last passage to those bliss-

\* From some letters published by Strype, it appears, that Elizabeth had not expressly informed any of her ministers, not even Burleigh himself, that she intended to have the warrant sent at this time for Mary's execution. See Vol. III. Book II.

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“ful mansions.” She then desired the two noblemen to permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her: but they told her, that their conscience would not permit their complying with this last part of her demand; and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, should wait upon her, to instruct her in the principles of the true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine, enflamed the bigotted zeal of the earl of Kent, who bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it.

The earls had no sooner left her, than she ordered that supper might be soon ready, that after it, she might have the more leisure to finish the few affairs she had to do in this world, and to prepare for her passage to the next. She, as was usual with her, supped sparingly, and with her wonted chearfulness. Her servants being overwhelmed with affliction, she strove to comfort them; and turning to Burgoin, her physician, asked him, if he did not observe the invincible force of truth? adding, “they pretend that I must die, because I conspired against the life of their queen; but the earl of Kent owned, that the only cause of my death, is the apprehensions my life gives them for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men.” When the supper was near ended, she ordered all her servants to be called in; and drinking to them, they all, in order, pledged her

her on their knees, and begged her pardon for the past neglect of their duty. She, in return, asked their pardon for her offences towards them ; and this exchange of mutual forgiveness was attended with a plentiful effusion of tears.

Mary now perused her will, in which she had given them legacies ; and calling for the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels, wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each article, and to some she distributed money with her own hands. She also wrote letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made her chief executor. She went to bed at her usual time ; and having slept some hours, rose, and spent the rest of the night in prayer. As she had foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had obtained a consecrated host from pope Pius, and had reserved it for this last period of life ; and thus endeavoured to supply the want of a priest and confessor. When it began to grow light, she dressed herself in the only rich habit which she had reserved for herself, and which was of silk and velvet ; telling her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress, rather than the plain one she wore the day before ; but it was necessary for her to appear in a decent habit at the ensuing solemnity.

Soon after, the sheriff of the county entering her room, told her, that the hour was come for his attending her to the place of execution. She answered, she was ready ; and bidding adieu



adieu to her servants, leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards (she having an infirmity in her limbs) and followed the sheriff with a composed countenance. On her passing thro' a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction, among whom was Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who threw himself on his knees before her, and wringing his hands, uttered the most bitter lamentations. She endeavoured to comfort him; and afterwards reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and her face bedewed with tears, kissed him, saying, "Good Melvil, farewell: once again farewell, good Melvil: grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

She then turned to the noblemen who attended her, and desired that her servants might be well treated; that they might be permitted to enjoy the presents she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. They having promised to grant this request, she desired that they might be permitted to attend her at her death; that their eyes might behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress submitted to her execution; and with what constancy she persevered in her attachment to her religion. This was opposed by the earl of Kent, who told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators; and to practise some superstition not proper for him to suffer, as dipping their handkerchiefs

chiefs in her blood. The queen of Scots renewed her application with great earnestness; but finding the earl of Kent persisted in his refusal, she appeared shocked, and added, "I am  
 " cousin to your queen, and descended from  
 " the blood royal of Henry VII. and am a mar-  
 " ried queen of France, and an anointed queen  
 " of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving that their obstinacy would appear invidious, after a little consultation, agreed that she might take a few of her servants with her; and she made choice of four men and two maid servants.

She from thence passed into another hall, in which was the scaffold covered with black. It was crouded with spectators, who seemed greatly moved on considering her royal dignity, the surprizing train of her misfortunes, her inflexible constancy, her amiable accomplishments, and the remains of her beauty, faded by years and affliction. The warrant for her execution was here read to her, which she heard with a silent unconcern. The dean of Peterborough then stepped forth; and though she frequently told him, that he had no need to concern himself about her; that she was settled in the belief of the Catholic religion; and that she meant to lay down her life in its defence; he persisted in his lectures and exhortations; and under the appearance of pious instructions, uttered the most cruel expressions. During his discourse, the queen could not forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting him. At length, the dean finding that his lecture answered no purpose, bid her change her opinion, repent of her

former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that in Christ Jesus alone she could hope to be saved. She answered with great earnestness again and again, "Don't trouble yourself any more about the matter; I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and in this religion I am resolved to die." Shrewsbury and Kent, perceiving that it was to no purpose to trouble her any farther with religious disputes, ordered the dean to desist from his unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. While the dean was engaged in prayer, she employed herself in her private devotions, from the office of the Virgin; and when he had finished, uttered aloud some petitions in English for the afflicted church, for herself, her son, and for queen Elizabeth. The earl of Kent observing, that during her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, reproved her for her attachment to that Popish trumpery, as he termed it; and exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, and not in her hand; to which she mildly replied, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with some compunction.

Mary now began to disrobe herself, in which she was assisted by her two women; and the executioner also lending his hand, she smiled, and said, she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, on seeing her ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: upon which she turned about



*Mary Q. of Scots in the Dress of 1570*  
*From a Painting by C. Janet.*

*J. Golliver sc.*



to them, put her finger upon her lips to impose silence upon them, and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, according to the directions she had given her, then covered her eyes with a handkerchief. This done, she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation, and the executioner severed her head from her body at two strokes; then holding it up to the spectators, the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies." To which the earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen." Thus perished Mary, queen of Scots, on the eighth of February, 1587, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England.

Elizabeth, on being informed of Mary's execution, appeared to be struck with the utmost surprize and indignation: her countenance changed; her speech faltered, and failing her, she stood fixed like a statue for a long time, in silent astonishment. Unable to give vent to her grief, it at last burst into loud lamentations. She put herself into deep mourning, was perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any were so rash, she chased them from her, with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment; saying, that they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose and intention, of which they were sufficiently apprized.



Elizabeth's sorrow was no sooner so far abated as to leave her room for reflection, than she wrote a letter to the king of Scots, in which she told him, that she wished he knew her unutterable grief for that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, had happened in England; and appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence: that she abhorred hypocrisy and dissimulation; and if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, nothing could have induced her to deny them: that, though sensible of the justice of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she had determined never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those who had, on this occasion, disappointed her intention.

Elizabeth now ordered Davison to be committed to prison, and to be tried in the star-chamber, where he expressed his repentance for the errors he had committed; and throwing himself upon the queen's mercy, was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to remain in prison during the queen's pleasure. The fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him; and he remained for a long time in custody. All the favour the queen would grant him, was sending him, from time to time, small supplies to keep him from perishing. Yet notwithstanding this severity, and the apparent reluctance Elizabeth shewed against consenting to the execution of Mary, and the grief she expressed afterwards, if any credit is to be given to an apology,

apology, which Davison is said to have sent to secretary Walsingham, and two letters inserted by Mackenzie in his life of queen Mary, Elizabeth deserves to be charged with great dissimulation : for though the warrant for her execution was sent away without the queen's knowledge and content, it appears, by these letters, that she would have been glad if Mary had died by any other means.

James discovered the highest resentment on his mother's execution ; and refused to admit into his presence Sir Robert Cary, the son of lord Hunsdon, who was sent to him by Elizabeth with her letter. He instantly recalled his ambassador from England ; and assembling the states of Scotland, they professed themselves ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenging his mother's death, and in the defence of his title to the crown of England. The courtiers appeared before the king in deep mourning, when lord Sinclair coming among them, arrayed in complete armour, observed, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The Catholics also took this opportunity to exhort James to conclude an alliance with Spain, and immediately to lay claim to the crown of England.

But the queen, after allowing James a decent time to vent his grief and anger, endeavoured to pacify him. For this purpose, Walsingham wrote to lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, and observed, that his engaging in a war merely on the principle of revenge, and

that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure; and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason. That the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: that the introduction of foreign succours was a most dangerous expedient; since the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, though he might be willing to assist that kingdom against England, would be displeased at seeing the union of these two kingdoms in the person of James: that the exorbitant ambition and extensive power of the king of Spain, rendered him a still more dangerous ally to Scotland; and was at the same time the common enemy of all princes who wished to maintain their independance; and from his being descended from the house of Lancaster, was the king of Scots immediate rival and competitor. That James, by advancing a present claim to the crown of England, would forfeit the certain prospect of his succeeding to it; for as the whole nobility and gentry of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the queen of Scots, if James shewed such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would, for their own security, be obliged to prevent so implacable and revengeful a prince from ruling over them; and that the true honour of a prince consisted in wisdom, justice, and moderation; not in following the dic-  
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*S.<sup>t</sup> FRANCIS DRAKE.*

tates of a blind passion, and pursuing revenge in opposition to every motive and every interest. The young prince, influenced by these considerations, and by his peaceable and unambitious temper, suffered his resentment to subside; and, by degrees, became reconciled to the court of England.

Elizabeth hearing that Philip was secretly preparing a great fleet to attack her, sent out Sir Francis Drake with four men of war, and twenty-six ships, supplied by the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder. That commander having learned from two Dutch ships, which he met with in his passage, that a rich Spanish fleet was lying at Cadiz, he sailed thither, obliged six galleys, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts, and burned about a hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores. Then sailing to Cape St. Vincent, he took the castle situated on that promontory, with three other forts. He afterwards sailed to the Azore islands, in order to lie in wait for a rich carrac expected there; and was so successful as to meet with his prize. By this expedition, the English seamen were taught to despise the great unwieldy ships of the Spaniards; their naval preparations were destroyed, and their intended expedition against England was retarded a twelvemonth, by which means the queen had leisure to prepare for their formidable invasion.

The same year Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman who had spent a considerable estate by living at court, in order to repair his fortune

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at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships; one of a hundred and twenty tuns, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and entering the South Seas with these small vessels, took nineteen ships, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, sailed up the Thames to London, in a kind of triumph, his sails being of damask, his top sail cloth of gold; and his mariners and soldiers clothed in silk. His prizes were esteemed the richest ever brought to England.

Mean while the enterprizes of the English in the Netherlands against Spain, were far from being successful. Stanley and York, whom Leicester had appointed governors of Deventer and Zutphen, betrayed their trust, and surrendered these towns to the prince of Parma; on which the Dutch, who were before disgusted with Leicester, broke out into loud complaints against him. He himself soon after arrived in the Netherlands; but his conduct was far from giving them satisfaction. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea and then by land, but without success: this he ascribed to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders; and they being equally free in their reflections upon him, the breach between them became daily wider. They slighted his authority, and neglected his advice, while he strove, by his imperious behaviour, to recover the influence he had lost by his imprudent measures. The Dutch even suspected his having enter-





*PHILIP II. K. of SPAIN.*

entertained the design of destroying their liberties; and began to be jealous even of the queen herself. She had made some advances towards a peace with Spain; and a congress for that purpose had been opened at the village of Bourbourg; and though each of the two courts only intended to amuse its enemy by negotiation, mutually to relax the preparations for war or defence, the Dutch became apprehensive, that their liberty would be sacrificed to the political interest of England. Elizabeth was, however, fully sensible of the advantage she received from her alliance with the states: and to give them satisfaction, recalled Leicester; upon which Maurice, the son of the late prince of Orange, was elected governor in his room, while the queen appointed Peregrine, lord Willoughby, commander of the English forces.

Though Philip had not yet declared war against Elizabeth, who had every where committed hostilities against him, he had long harboured a secret and violent resolution to be revenged on her. His ambition and his hopes were promoted by his present prosperity; by the yearly importation of vast treasures from America, by the conquest of Portugal, and the acquisition of the East India commerce and settlements. He now placed his highest glory in the support of orthodoxy, and in exterminating heresy; and hoped, if he could subdue Elizabeth, to require the eternal renown of reuniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. Besides, his animosity against

gainst his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, prompted him to attack the English, who were so able to support the Dutch, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels, while their power remained entire and unbroken. Philip, engaged by these ambitious hopes, undertook this hazardous enterprize. For some time preparations had been secretly made; but no sooner was the resolution fully taken, than every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of his armaments; and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in promoting the design. In all the ports of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, men were employed in building vessels of an uncommon size and strength; naval stores were purchased at a great expence; provisions were amassed; armies raised and quartered in the sea-port towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet as had never before appeared in Europe. Every moment troops were assembling to reinforce the duke of Parma in the Netherlands. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: the marquis of Borgaut levied troops in Germany: the Burgundian and Walloon regiments were completed: the Spanish infantry was recruited, and an army of thirty-four thousand men being assembled in the Netherlands, was kept in readiness to be transported into England. All the carpenters that could be procured either in Lower Germany, Flanders, and the coasts of the Baltick, were employed by the duke of Parma, who caused to be built at Dunkirk, Newport, and

and Antwerp, a great number of boats, and flat-bottomed vessels, for transporting his cavalry and infantry. The greatest princes and nobility of Spain and Italy were filled with the ambition of sharing in the honour of this great enterprize, and hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma; and about two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of whom were men of rank, enlisted in the service. No doubt was entertained, that these vast preparations, conducted by officers of the most consummate skill, would be successful; and the Spaniards, elevated with their hopes, had already termed their navy, the Invincible Armada.

The court of London was soon informed of these extraordinary preparations; and notwithstanding the pretence of the Spaniards, that this force was to be employed in the Indies, it was concluded, that it was intended against England. The invasion had been foreseen by the queen; who, finding that she must now contend for her crown, with the whole force of Spain, prepared for resistance, with a mind unterrified at that power, by which all Europe apprehended she would be easily overwhelmed. Her force was, indeed, extremely inferior to that of her potent enemy. All the sailors in the kingdom, at that time, amounted only to about fourteen thousand men; and the English ships were, in general, so small, that, except a few of the queen's men of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants that exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy only consisted of twenty-eight sail, many of them of a small  
size,



size, and none of them exceeding, in bulk, our largest frigates; and most of the rest rather deserved the name of pinnaces than of ships. The English fleet had no other advantage, than that which arose from the courage and dexterity of the mariners, who being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and to expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded the Spanish sailors, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to theirs. All the sea port towns of England were ordered to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy, and now discovered great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion, against the imminent dangers with which they were threatened. Instead of fifteen vessels, which the citizens of London were commanded to equip, they shewed their zeal in the common cause, by fitting out double the number. The nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own expence; and all the loans of money demanded by the queen were freely granted. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of capacity and courage, was made admiral; and under him Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron, consisting of forty English and Flemish vessels, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma's fleet of land forces.

The English troops were much more numerous than those of the enemy, but were then greatly inferior in discipline and experience.

Twenty

Twenty thousand men were disposed in different bodies along the south coast, and were ordered, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, waste the country round, and wait till they were reinforced from the neighbouring counties, before they came to a battle with the enemy. In order to defend the capital, twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were stationed at Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leicester. The principal army was composed of two thousand horse, and thirty-four thousand foot, commanded by lord Hunfdon, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy appeared. Should all the armies of Spain be able to land, the fate of England now appeared to depend on the issue of a single battle; and people of reflection were filled with the most dreadful apprehensions, when they compared the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the greatest general of the age, with the military power which England, long refused to war, could muster up against them.

Elizabeth, unterrified by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland, who prevailed on James to agree to march to her assistance with all his forces. She engaged the king of Denmark to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had bought or  
 Vol. VIII. Q hired

hired in the Danish harbours; and the Hanse-towns were also induced, by the common tie of religion, to delay so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became of no use in the invasion of England. All the Protestants in Europe considered this enterprize as an event, on which the fate of their religion depended; and though unable, by their distance, to join their forces with those of Elizabeth, beheld, with admiration and anxiety, the intrepidity with which she endeavoured to encounter the dreadful tempest which was every moment approaching.

The queen was sensible, that next to her popularity, the firmest support of her throne consisted in her people's zeal for the Protestant religion, and the strength of their prejudices against Popery; she therefore took care to have them reminded of their former danger, from the tyranny of Spain: the inhuman persecutions which Mary exercised against the Protestants, were ascribed to the councils of that bigotted and imperious nation: the horrid cruelties of the inquisition, the bloody massacres in the Indies, and the unrelenting executions in the Netherlands, were set before the eyes of the people: a list and description was published, and pictures dispersed of the instruments of torture, with which it was pretended the Spanish armada was loaded; and every artifice employed to animate her subjects, vigorously to defend their religion, their liberties, and their laws.

While

While Elizabeth thus roused the resentment of the nation against Popery, she wisely treated the Papists themselves with moderation; and though Sixtus V. the present pope, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, deposed her from the throne, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, published a crusade against England, and granted plenary indulgences to all engaged in the present invasion, she rejected all violent councils against them; and the Catholics, sensible of this favour, in general, expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, sensible that they could not reasonably expect to obtain any trust or authority, entered as volunteers in the fleet and army: some fitted out ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to Protestants: others behaved with activity, in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to defend their country; and all ranks of men laying aside party distinctions, seemed to prepare to resist these invaders.

Still more to inflame the martial spirit of the nation, Elizabeth appeared on horse-back in the camp of Tilbury; and riding through the lines with an animated countenance, exhorted the troops to remember their duty to their religion, and their country; professing her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle, than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. This spirited behaviour filled the

soldiers with an admiration mixed with tenderness; and they asked each other, if it were possible for Englishmen to abandon this glorious cause, or by any dangers, be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic queen?

In the beginning of May 1588, the Spanish armada was ready; but when it was preparing to sail, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a violent fever, of which he died soon after. The duke of Paliano, the vice-admiral, at the very same time suffered the same fate; and Philip appointed the duke of Medina Sidonia admiral, though he was entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. This retarded the sailing of the armada, and allowed the English more time to oppose it. At last this formidable fleet sailed from Lisbon, on the 29th of May, filled with hope and alacrity; but the next day a violent tempest scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and the rest were forced to take shelter in the Groyne, and to wait there till they could be refitted.

The news of this event being carried to England, the queen concluded, that the Spaniards were disappointed for this summer; and being always ready to save expences, caused Walsingham to write to the admiral, to lay up some of the largest ships, and to discharge the sea men: but lord Effingham being less sanguine in his hopes, ventured to disobey these orders, and begged leave to retain all the ships in the service, though it should be at his own expence. Then taking advantage of a north wind,

wind, he sailed towards the coast of Spain, in order to attack the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the south, he was filled with apprehensions, lest they should pass by him at sea and invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet; and therefore returning with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, lay at anchor in that harbour.

In the mean time all the damage suffered by the armada being repaired, the Spaniards again set sail with fresh hopes. This formidable fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, near a hundred of which were galleons, and of a greater size than any vessels ever before used in Europe. On board were nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight gally-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty brass guns. It was attended by twenty lesser ships, called caravals, and ten salves, with six ores each, and was victualled for six months.

Philip's plan was, that the armada should steer to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport, when, having chased away all the English or Flemish vessels that might obstruct the passage, (it not being to be supposed, that they would dare to make the least opposition) he should join the duke of Parma, and from thence sail to the Thames; and having landed the whole Spanish army, he should, at one blow, complete the entire conquest of England. The duke of Medina was directed, in the prosecution



secution of this scheme, to sail along the channel, as near the coast of France as he could with safety, in order to avoid meeting with the English fleet; and to neglect all smaller successes that might obstruct or delay the acquisition of a great kingdom.

The interposition of Providence in the preservation of states and kingdoms never more evidently appeared than on this occasion. After the Spaniards were under sail, they took a fisherman, from whom they learned, that the English admiral had been lately at sea; but having heard that the armada had been scattered by a tempest, he had returned back to Plymouth; and, supposing the invasion was over for this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the sailors. From this false intelligence the duke of Medina supposing, that it would be easy to destroy the English ships in Plymouth harbour, was tempted to break his orders, and to sail directly for Plymouth; and thus a resolution, founded on the mistake of a fisherman, proved the safety of England. On the 19th of July, about sunset, the armada made the lizard, and the Spaniards happily taking it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, bore out to sea, with a design to return the next day and destroy the English fleet. They were seen by a Scottish pirate, who immediately sailed to inform the English admiral of their approach. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish armada approaching in full sail, dis-  
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posed in the form of a crescent, and stretching to the distance of seven miles\*.

The lord Effingham gave orders to cannonade the Spaniards at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents might afford, of intercepting some of the enemy's scattered vessels. This answered expectation. A large ship of Biscay, which had a considerable part of the Spanish money on board, accidentally took fire; and all hands being employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the armada:

\* Mr. Hume observes, that the writers of that age raise their stile in their pompous descriptions of this spectacle; the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, and which infused equal terror and admiration into the minds of all the beholders. After mentioning the lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the galleons, they assert, that though they bore all their sails, they advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight. The same gentleman adds, "The truth, however, is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill framed, or so ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could neither sail upon a wind, nor tack upon occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained so great perfection, as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels." *Hist of Eng.* vol. v. pag. 342.

about

about the same time the great galleon of Andalusia sprung her mast; and after some resistance, both these vessels were taken by Sir Francis Drake. While the armada proceeded up the channel, the English, who followed in the rear, were employed in skirmishes, which abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added to the courage of the English, who soon found, that the bulk of the Spanish ships exposed them the more to their fire, while their cannon being placed too high, the shot went over the heads of the English. The alarm had no sooner reached the coast of England, than the nobility and gentry sailed with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Charles Blount, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Sir Thomas Vavasor, distinguished themselves by their zeal for their country; and the English fleet, after being joined by these ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

The armada having reached Calais, cast anchor, in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had been informed of their approach, would put to sea, and join his forces. Upon this the English admiral took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustibles, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, frightened at the fire ships, immediately cut their cables, and dispersed with the utmost disorder and precipitation. The next morning the English fell  
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upon them, while in confusion, and took or destroyed twelve ships, besides damaging many others.

It was now evident, that the design of the Spaniards was entirely frustrated. The duke of Parma's vessels were made for transporting soldiers, and not for fighting; and therefore when that general was persuaded to leave the harbour, the duke absolutely refused to expose his flourishing army to such evident hazards, while the English not only kept the sea, but seemed to triumph over the lately supposed invincible armada. The Spanish admiral, in many rencounters, found, that though he had lost a considerable part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small English vessel, and perceived, that so unequal a combat must draw inevitable destruction on all the rest of his fleet. He therefore prepared to return home; but the wind not permitting his passage back through the channel, he resolved to sail northward, and to reach the Spanish harbours, by sailing round the island. For some time the English fleet followed him; and had not their ammunition fallen short, they would have obliged the whole armada to surrender at discretion. This resolution the duke of Medina had once taken; but the persuasions of his confessor diverted him from it. The event, however, proved equally fatal to the Spaniards: for after the armada had passed the Orkneys, it was overtaken by a violent tempest. The ships which had already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep to sea: the mariners, who  
were

were unaccustomed to such hardships, and unable to govern such unwieldly vessels, were forced to yield to the fury of the storm; and their ships being driven, some on the western islands of Scotland, and others on the coast of Ireland, where they were wrecked, not half of the fleet returned to Spain, and those were in a shattered condition. The mariners and soldiers who escaped, were worn out by hardships and fatigues, and so dispirited by their defeat, that they spread over all Spain, accounts of the furious bravery of the English, and of the dreadful storms in that sea which surrounds them.

Philip, though a slave to his ambition, had such command over himself, that on his hearing of this mortifying event, by which all his hopes were blasted, he fell on his knees, and thanked God that the calamity was no greater. The joy and satisfaction of the English was extreme; public prayers and thanksgiving for this remarkable instance of the Divine protection, were offered up with great fervour and devotion; and the queen caused two medals to be struck, to perpetuate the memory of this glorious and decisive victory over the Spaniards.

The defeat of the armada filled the nation with the extremest fondness for engaging in enterprizes against Spain. Don Antonio, a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, laying claim to that crown, the people of England resolved to endeavour to conquer it for him. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, were the leaders in this romantic enterprize; in which, near twenty thousand volunteers enlisted

listed themselves, and both hired ships and provided arms at their own expence, while the queen contributed only sixty thousand pounds. These brave adventurers hearing, after they had set sail, that new preparations were making at the Groyne for the invasion of England, they entered the harbour, burned some ships of war, and defeated an army of four or five thousand men assembled to oppose them; after which, they took and pillaged the lower town. The young earl of Essex, enflamed with the thirst of military glory, had, unknown to the queen, secretly left England; and here joining the English, they unanimously consented to sail for Portugal, the principal object of their enterprize.

As the Spaniards had prepared against this invasion, the English had the misfortune to find their attack on Lisbon unsuccessful; they, indeed, made themselves masters of the lower town; but the army being seized with sickness, from fatigue and the intemperate use of wine and fruits, they hastily reembarked, and then sailed to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the adjacent country, returned to England.

In the mean time James, king of Scotland, having renewed his suit to the princess of Denmark, and still finding obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, he broke through all her politics; and having caused the marriage to be celebrated by proxy, the princess embarked for Scotland, but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway; on which James took a voyage.



in order to conduct his bride home. He arrived in Norway, and carried his queen thence to Copenhagen, where he passed the winter, and the next spring brought her to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people.

In France, the war between the Protestants and the league was carried on with great vigour. Henry III. finding all his authority usurped by the duke of Guise, and that even his throne was exposed to the most imminent danger, by the ambition of that prince, caused him and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to be assassinated in his palace. At this the partizans of the league were enflamed with the utmost rage; the populace every where renounced their allegiance; and the most powerful cities and most opulent provinces appeared to unite in a resolution, either to renounce monarchy, or to change their monarch. Thus Henry, finding slender resources from his Catholic subjects, was obliged to enter into a confederacy with the king of Navarre and the Protestants. He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, assembled an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, in order to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. His opposition to the league, and his being supported by the Protestants, made him now be considered as an heretical tyrant; and on the first of August, 1589, James Clement, a Dominican friar, enflamed with the bloody spirit of bigotry, resolved to sacrifice his own life in defence of the church, which



*Habit of a wealthy Merchant  
of London, in 1588.*

*From a Painting of Caspar Rutz.*



which was supposed to be in danger ; and having obtained admission to the king's presence, gave him a mortal wound, and was himself immediately slain by the courtiers, to revenge the murder of their sovereign.

The king of Navarre being next heir to the crown, immediately assumed the government, under the name of Henry IV. The prejudices entertained against him, on account of his religion, made a great part of the nobility desert him ; and the league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, obtained new strength. This induced him to apply to Elizabeth, whom he found ready to contribute to his assistance. To prevent the desertion of his German and Swiss auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, and sent him four thousand men, commanded by lord Willoughby. Strengthened by these supplies, he, in 1590, marched to Paris ; and having taken the suburbs sword in hand, abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. This body of English troops he employed in many other enterprizes, till the time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high encomiums.

Henry IV. soon after gained a complete victory over his enemies at Yvrée, which enabled him to blockade Paris, till that city was reduced by famine to the last extremity ; when the duke of Parma having received orders from Philip, to march to the relief of the league, he obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Henry afterwards obtained fresh supplies from Elizabeth,

beth, which enabled him to carry on the war with success: but finding unfurmountable obstacles to his ascending the throne, from the bigotry of the zealous partizans of the league, he at last renounced the Protestant religion, and was received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the Romish church.

During these military operations in France, several naval enterprizes were carried on in the West-Indies, by different squadrons, with various success; while Elizabeth's enemies found no other means of disturbing her, but by such treacherous and perfidious schemes, as ended in their own disgrace, and the ruin of the criminals. In 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, who was domestic physician to the queen, on being imprisoned upon suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her, from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but asserted, that he had intended to cheat Philip of his money, and never designed to fulfil his promise. He, however, suffered death for this conspiracy; but though the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, she could never obtain satisfaction. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally criminal.

Elizabeth, instead of revenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, sought a more honourable vengeance, by assisting the king of France, and entirely breaking the power of the league, which, after that monarch had embraced

braced the Popish religion, daily declined. Norris commanded the English forces in Brittany, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Brest, and Quimpercorentin, which were guarded by Spanish forces. In every action, the English discovered great military genius; and the queen, though a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution: but Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, with many others, perished before Brest.

In 1596, some disgusts the queen had received from the states of the Netherlands, induced her to demand the reimbursement of all the money she had expended in their defence. The states, besides alledging the conditions of a former treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till a peace was concluded, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty of supporting the war. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed, by which the states consented to free the queen immediately from the expence of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds, for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships, and to conclude no treaty or peace without her consent. They also bound themselves, after a peace should be concluded with Spain, to pay her, annually, a hundred thousand pounds, during four years, in lieu of all demands.



While the queen made war against Philip, in the Netherlands, at a considerable expence of blood and treasure, the naval enterprizes, undertaken by her or her subjects, interrupted the navigation of the Spaniards. In 1594, Richard Hawkins had procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea; but his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. The same year, James Lancaster, being supplied with three ships and a pinnace, by the merchants of London, was more fortunate. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and made an attack on Fernambuca, in Brazil, where great treasures were then lodged. On his approaching the shore, he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; when, placing the bravest of his men in boats, he ordered them to row with such violence up to the landing-place, as to split them in pieces, by which he deprived his men of all resource but in victory; and so terrified the enemy, that, after a short resistance, they fled. He afterwards returned home with the treasure he had so bravely obtained. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed to a part of South America, in order to discover the rich mines, which were then said to be at Guiana; but having taken the small town of St. Joseph, in the isle of Trinidad, he left his ship, and sailed up the river Oroonoko, in pinnaces, but did not meet with the success he expected.

The same year, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins, with six of the queen's ships,  
and



**S<sup>r</sup>. WALTER RALEIGH**

*J. Collyer sc.*



and twenty more, either furnished by private adventurers, or fitted out at their own expence, attacked the island of Porto Rico, where, they were informed, was a rich carrac: but the Spaniards hearing of their approach, prepared for their reception, and the English, notwithstanding they made a brave assault, were repulsed with loss. Soon after Hawkins died, and Drake sailed to the continent, where he burned Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre di Dios. He then attempted to march across the isthmus of Darien to Panama; but met with so many difficulties, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and resolved to attack Porto Bello; but he dying of a dysentery, the fleet returned to England.

This enterprize not meeting with all the success that was expected, the English resolved to attack Philip's dominions in Europe, where preparations were making for a new invasion of England. For this purpose, a formidable fleet was equipped at Plymouth, composed of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war, and the rest small vessels and tenders. To these the Dutch added twenty ships. This fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, high admiral, and the land forces by the earl of Essex; and such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign, that both these commanders expended great sums of their own in this armament. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Coniers Clifford, Sir George Carew, and Sir Francis Vere, had

commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the admiral and general.

On the first of June 1596, they set sail for Cadiz, sending before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy. On their coming near Cadiz, they took an Irish vessel, by which they learned, that the port was full of merchant ships of great value; and that the Spaniards having no apprehensions of an enemy, lived in perfect security.

After having made a fruitless attempt to land on the western side of the island of Cadiz, the council of war resolved to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This enterprize was strenuously recommended by Essex, contrary to the opinion of the admiral, who thought it too hazardous; but Essex no sooner found the resolution taken, than he threw his hat into the sea, with all the signs of the most extravagant joy. He was, however, greatly mortified, on being informed by Effingham, that the queen, dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had given secret orders, that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. This was performed by lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Raleigh; but no sooner was Essex within reach of the enemy, than forgetting the promise he had made to the admiral to stay in the midst of the fleet, he pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. Every one being inspired with emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, and animosity against the Spaniards, they soon obliged them to slip their anchors,

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**ROBERT DEVEREUX**  
**Earl of Essex.**

*J. Collyer sc.*

chors, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships a-ground. Essex then landed with his men at the fort of Puntal, and instantly marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the English soon carried sword in hand; when Essex instantly put a stop to the slaughter, and treated his prisoners with the greatest humanity and kindness. The plunder of the city was very rich; but the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, deprived them of still greater treasures, by causing the ships to be set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. The loss the Spaniards sustained in this enterprize, is said to have amounted to twenty millions of ducats.

Essex now insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; but all the other seamen and soldiers, satisfied with the honour they had obtained, were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Essex then proposed to intercept the carracs at the Azores, to assault the Groyne, to take St. Sebastians, and St. Andero; with all which they refused to comply. On their return home, Essex complained to the queen of their want of spirit; and she herself was not pleased at their returning without endeavouring to intercept the fleet loaded with the treasures of America: but though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, she could not help expressing her esteem for the other officers. She created the admiral earl of Nottingham, at which Essex was highly offended; and it being said in the preamble to the patent, that this honour was conferred on him

him for his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships, a merit which Essex pretended belonged solely to himself, he offered to maintain this plea by single combat, against the earl of Nottingham, his sons, or any of his relations.

The next year the queen being informed, that the Spaniards, notwithstanding the damage their fleet had suffered at Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groyne; and were marching troops thither, in order to make a descent in Ireland, she resolved to destroy the ships in these harbours. For this purpose, she prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, seventeen of which were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. On board of this fleet were embarked five thousand new raised soldiers, and a thousand veteran troops, brought by Sir Francis Vere from the Netherlands. The earl of Essex, who was commander in chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron; Sir Walter Raleigh was appointed vice-admiral of another; lord Thomas Howard of the third; and lord Mountjoy was commander of the land forces under Essex.

They set sail from Plymouth on the 9th of July 1597; but were no sooner out of harbour, than they were shattered and dispersed by a violent storm; and before they could be refitted, their provisions were so far spent, that it would have been unsafe to carry so numerous an army along with them. Essex therefore dismissed

missed all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere; and abandoning all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groyne, confined the object of his expedition to his intercepting the fleet from Spanish America, which was about this time expected to stop at the Azores. Thither Essex bent his course, after having informed Raleigh, that he intended to attack Fayal, one of the Azore islands. The squadrons being, by some accident, separated, Raleigh arrived first before that island; and having waited some time for the general, thought it most prudent to begin the attack alone, lest a farther delay should give the inhabitants time to prepare for their defence. He succeeded in the attempt; but Essex thinking, that Raleigh intended to rob him of the glory of the action, was so highly offended, that he cashiered several of the captains who had contributed to take the place; and would have inflicted the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh to make his submissions to the general. Essex being soon appeased, received Raleigh into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands. This, however, laid the first foundation of the violent animosity which afterwards subsisted between these two brave commanders.

Essex now disposed his fleet in a manner proper for intercepting the galleons; and Sir William Monson, falling in with them, made the signal which had been agreed upon: but the  
Spanish

Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to Tercera\*; and, before the English fleet could overtake them, sheltered themselves in the safe and well fortified harbour of Angara, in that island. Essex, however, intercepted three ships, which were so rich, as to repay all the expences of the expedition.

Upon the return of the fleet, the causes of the miscarriage in this enterprize were much canvassed in England. The courtiers sided with Essex or Raleigh, according to the respect they bore to each; but the people in general, who were pleased with the spirit and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify his conduct: but the queen, who loved the one, and esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality between the parties.

In 1598 Henry IV. king of France, having received overtures for a peace with Philip, gave intelligence of it to his allies, Elizabeth and the states of the Netherlands, and having used every expedient to apologize for his conduct, concluded a separate peace at Vervins, by which he was put in possession of all the places seized by Spain, during the course of the civil wars of France; and thus procured leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. As his abilities for conducting the arts of peace were at least equal to his military talents, he, in a short time, by the wisdom of his government, raised France from the desolation and

\* One of the largest of the Azore islands.

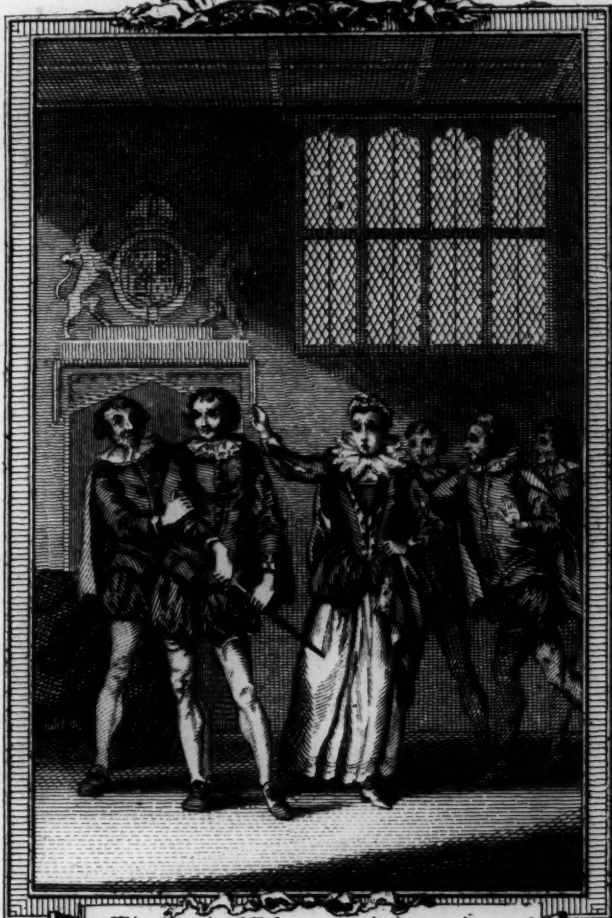
misery in which that kingdom was involved, to a more flourishing condition than it had ever before enjoyed.

Elizabeth was sensible, that she also could easily put an end to her war with Spain on equitable terms. But though she had been, at first, averse to war, she seemed now to have attained such an ascendant over the enemy, that she was unwilling to put a stop to the course of her prosperous fortune. Her past victories had entirely secured her from any dangerous invasion. She considered, that the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, and the annual return of his treasures from thence, afforded her a prospect of the most lasting advantages: that Philip, after his peace with France, if she should also consent to an accommodation, would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had greatly increased their power, by commerce and good government, would still, without her assistance, be unable to maintain a war against so powerful a prince; and that it would be unsafe and dishonourable to abandon their cause, till they were placed in a state of greater security.

The earl of Essex, whose military talents, and passion for glory, made him earnestly desire the continuance of the war, frequently mentioned to the queen these reasons for carrying it on. Lord Burleigh was desirous of a peace; and the rivalry between these noblemen, made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own council; but as the person  
of



of Essex was agreeable to the queen, and his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite appeared to obtain daily an ascendant over the minister; and had he been possessed of a self-command equal to his shining qualities, he might have so far rivetted himself into the queen's affections, that none of his enemies could have hurt him: but his spirit could ill submit to the implicit respect which Elizabeth had always been accustomed to receive from her subjects. Having once entered into a dispute with her, on the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated by the argument, as to turn his back upon her with an air of contempt. At this provocation, her anger, which was naturally violent, was so inflamed, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence: when, instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions her sex and station required, he clapt his hand to his sword, and swore, he would not bear such usage even from Henry VIII. himself, and instantly withdrew from court. The chancellor Egerton, who had a regard for Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion, by making proper acknowledgments; but he was so deeply stung with the dishonour, that he not only wrote him a spirited letter against the queen, but shewed it to his friends, who even dispersed copies of it: yet notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's regard for him prevailed, and she restored him to her former favour; and from this short interval of anger and resentment,



Wale del.

*The Earl of Essex receiving a box of  
the ear from Queen Elizabeth.*

Collier sc.

*Published as the Act directs 1. Aug. 1774, by J. Johnson. St. Pauls Church Y.<sup>d</sup>*



ment, her kindness appeared to have acquired new force.

About the same time the death of Burleigh, on the 4th of August 1598, appeared to ensure to Essex the constant possession of the queen's confidence. This nobleman, who died in an advanced age, was equally regretted by the queen and the people. He had gradually risen by the mere force of merit, from small beginnings; and during the course of near forty years, was considered as a principal minister; for as he had assiduously paid his court to Elizabeth during her sister's reign, when appearing her friend was attended with danger, she thought herself bound by her gratitude, when she ascended the throne, to persevere in her attachment to him. He was chiefly distinguished by the solidity of his understanding, the probity of his manners, and his close application to business. He was the only minister in her reign who left a considerable fortune to his posterity: a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his office, and preserved by his frugality. This great statesman wrote *La Complainte de l'Amo Pecheresse*, in French verse, which is extant in the king's library: The execution of justice in England: Meditations of the state of England: Lord Burleigh's precepts, &c.\*

Soon after the death of this great minister, the queen was informed of the death of

\* See Dictionary of the World, under the article Cecil.

Philip II. her principal enemy, who expired at Madrid in an advanced age. This prince had transferred to his daughter, who was married to the arch-duke Albert, the possession of the Netherlands; but as it was thought she would have no issue, and as the reversion was reserved to the crown of Spain, the states still obstinately persisted in their resistance to the Spanish arms.

A rebellion had, for several years, been carried on in Ireland under Hugh O'Neale, who had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone, and several armies, under experienced officers, had been sent against him; but by means of proposals for truces, accommodations, and treacherous promises, the efforts of the English had constantly been defeated. This made it necessary to carry on the war with vigour; and the queen, for that purpose, cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy: but the young earl of Essex, ambitious of glory, represented the necessity of appointing some person more experienced in war, and of higher quality and reputation. Being understood to mean himself, his desire was granted, and Elizabeth gave him the title of lord deputy of Ireland, granting him more extensive authority than had ever been conferred on any governor before; as the power of carrying on and finishing the war as he pleased; of pardoning the rebels, and of filling the most considerable employments of the kingdom. To ensure his success, she gave him an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand

thousand horse, which, it was supposed, would be sufficient to overwhelm the rebels in one campaign. Nor did the enemies of Essex, the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; for they imagined, the higher the expectations of the queen were raised, it would be the more difficult for him to satisfy her.

Essex left London in March 1599, attended by the acclamations of the populace, and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his person, attached themselves to his fortunes, and sought fame and military experience under so brave a commander. His first act of authority, after his arrival in Ireland, was his imprudently appointing his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse, though that nobleman had incurred the queen's displeasure, and though she herself had enjoined him not to give him any command.

Essex had always insisted upon the necessity of leading the forces immediately into Ulster, against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish council persuaded him, from private views of their own, that the season was too early for the enterprize; and that, as the morasses, in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, were not yet passible, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Essex soon obliged all the rebels in



that province to submit; but the forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion. Mean while the army, from the fatigue of long and tedious marches, became sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, were surprisingly diminished. Even the courage of the soldiers was much abated; for though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprizes, a considerable body of them had been put to flight by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and is even said to have decimated the private men who had fled.

Elizabeth was extremely displeased at hearing, that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprizes; and still more in Essex's persevering in what he had warmly condemned in others. In order to give his troops time to recover from their sickness and fatigue, he left the main army in quarters, and marched with fifteen hundred men to Offaly, against the O'Conner's and the O'More's, whom he forced to submit: but he found, on his return to Dublin, the army so diminished, that he wrote to inform the English council, that if he was not immediately reinforced with two thousand men, it would be impossible for him to attempt any thing against Tyrone this season. The queen, that there might be no pretence for his farther inactivity, sent over the number demanded; and Essex at last prepared for the expedition into Ulster: but the army was so averse to this enterprize, that

that many counterfeited sickness, and many deserted ; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He, however, marched with this small army, but was soon sensible, that it would be impossible for him, in so advanced a season, to subdue an enemy, who, though superior in number, was resolved to avoid any decisive action. He therefore listened to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference ; and a place for that purpose was appointed near the two camps. The generals met without any other attendants, with a river between them, into which Tyrone entered, to the depth of his saddle, while Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, in which Tyrone behaved with great submission and respect, a cessation of arms was concluded till the first of May.

This unexpected issue, of the most expensive enterprize that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, exasperated her against Essex ; and this was much encreased by his writing many letters to the queen and council, filled with peevish expressions, and lamenting, that the calumnies of his enemies should be believed against him. She informed him of her dissatisfaction, but commanded him to stay in Ireland till he received farther orders.

Essex dreading, that if he remained longer absent, the queen would be entirely alienated from him, immediately set out for England ; and travelling with great speed, arrived at court before any one was apprized of his intentions.

Though he was besmeared with dirt and sweat, he ran up stairs to the presence-chamber, then to the privy-chamber, nor did he stop till he was in the bed chamber of the queen, who had just risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He instantly threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private discourse with her; at which he was so pleased, that on his departure, he was heard to thank God, that though he had suffered much trouble, and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

Elizabeth's favourable disposition was merely owing to her surprize at the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite; but she had no sooner time for recollection, than all his faults recurred to her. When Essex, therefore, waited on her in the afternoon, he found her behaviour much altered: she ordered him to be twice examined by the council; to be committed to the custody of the lord-keeper Egerton, and to be excluded from all company, even from that of his countess. Essex expressed great humiliation and sorrow; and even declared, that he was resolved to retire into the country, where he would lead a private life, remote from court: but his vexation, and the triumph obtained by his enemies, preyed so deeply on his spirits, that he fell into a disorder, which seemed to endanger his life.

The queen, who had always declared, that her severity was intended to correct, and not to ruin him, no sooner heard of his condition, than she was alarmed at his danger; and ordered

dered eight physicians, of the greatest reputation, to attend him, and consult upon his case. Being informed, that there was reason to fear he would not recover, she sent one of her physicians with some broth, and to deliver a message, that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. Those who stood by, carefully observing her countenance, remarked, that in pronouncing these words, her eyes swam in tears.

The enemies of Essex were greatly alarmed at these symptoms of the queen's returning affection for him; and, in particular, Sir Walter Raleigh, who was so affected by it, that he, in his turn, was seized with sickness; and the queen, who had a respect for him, sent him a favourable message, in which she expressed her wishes for his recovery.

Elizabeth's medicine was successful with both these aspiring rivals; and Essex being allowed to enjoy the company of his countess, and to entertain more agreeable hopes with respect to himself, soon became out of danger. The queen was then persuaded to believe, that he had counterfeited this illness, in order to excite her compassion; and this induced her to relapse into her former rigour. He sent her a rich present, with a letter, on New-year's day, as was then usual among the courtiers: she read the letter, but rejected the present. However, she soon after allowed him to retire to his own house; and though he still remained under custody, and was allowed no company

ny but that of his countess, he sent her a letter of thanks upon this occasion. The countess of Essex, who was the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, had, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and Essex's chief consolation, during this period of anxiety and suspense, consisted in her company, and his reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which he had never entirely neglected during his greatest prosperity.

The queen's anger against Essex was kept alive by several incidents. Tyrone was so far from being subdued, that in less than three months he broke the truce; and joining with O'Donnell, and other rebels, over-run almost all Ireland. He boasted, that he should soon receive a supply of men, money, and arms, from Spain; and pretending to be the champion of the Catholic religion, openly exulted, in a present which pope Clement VIII. had made him, of a pretended feather of a phoenix, in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause. To check his progress, the queen appointed Mountjoy lieutenant, who, in his landing in Ireland, immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster; penetrated into the heart of the country, where the rebels were chiefly situated; fortified Mount Norris and Derry, in order to bridle the Irish; chased them from the field, and forced them to take shelter in the woods and morasses: he employed Sir George Carew with equal success in Munster; and thus gave new life to the queen's authority in that country.

The

The queen's resentment was kept up, by her comparing Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex, and by the peoples complaining of the injustice he suffered by his removal from court. Elizabeth had often expressed her intention of justifying her conduct to the public, with respect to him, by having him tried in the star-chamber: but her tenderness at last prevailed over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. Coke, the attorney-general, opened the cause against him, with all the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate; and Francis, the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, closed the charge, with displaying the undutiful expressions in some of the earl's letters.

When Essex came to plead in his own defence, he, with great submission and humility, renounced all pretences to an apology, and declared his resolution, on this or any other occasion, never to have any contest with his sovereign; and this submission was uttered with such eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-counsellors did him justice, with regard to the loyalty of his intentions; and even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. Hence he was only sentenced to be deprived of the offices he possessed, and to be confined in his own house, till her majesty should please to release him.

Francis



Francis Bacon, who was afterwards so highly distinguished by his high offices, and his profound skill in the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family; but had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that, though he was bred to the law, he had yet obtained no preferment. But Essex, who discovered his great abilities, had engaged in an intimate friendship with him, and had zealously endeavoured, though without success, to procure for him the office of queen's solicitor; and, to comfort him under his disappointment, had made him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public, therefore, were highly offended at Bacon's appearing before the council against his generous benefactor, though he was commanded to do it by the queen; but she was so pleased with him, that she directed him to draw up an account of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the nation, with respect to the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, in doing this, represented the whole in the most favourable terms for Essex; and in particular described, in a pleasing manner, the dutiful submission with which he avoided making a particular defence of his conduct. On his reading the paper to the queen, she smiled at that passage, and said, she saw that old love could not easily be forgotten. To which Bacon replied, he hoped she meant that of herself.

Every one expected, that Essex would now be restored to his former credit; and in this hope they were confirmed, on their seeing, that  
though

though he was still forbid to appear at court, he was continued in his office of master of the horse, was restored to his liberty, and all his friends had access to him. Essex wrote to the queen, to beg she would admit him to her presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness; telling her, that he now resolved to amend his past errors; to retire into the solitude of the country, and to say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven; till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." Elizabeth answered, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had, for a long time, tried her patience, and it was but fitting that she should try his submission, and that, if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry.

The earl was, at this time, possessed of a monopoly of sweet wines, but his patent being almost expired, he expected that the queen would renew it; and thought, that from this circumstance, he should see whether he ought to entertain hopes of ever being restored to credit and authority. But as Elizabeth was continually surrounded by his enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his proud spirit was not sufficiently subdued, and that he ought to pass this trial before she could safely receive him again into favour, on which she refused his request. This, however, was very unfortunate for them.

them both, since it produced the ruin of the young nobleman, and was the source of the deepest vexation and sorrow to the queen.

Essex now imagining that Elizabeth was inexorable, burst at once through all the restraints of submission and prudence, and determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the greatest extremities. He endeavoured to encrease his popularity; he courted the officers of the army; endeavoured to obtain the confidence of the Catholics, and more particularly applied to the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and engaging the most celebrated of their preachers to resort to Essex house, and had daily prayers and sermons in his family. He even indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was heard to say, that the queen was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. These stories were carried to her by some court ladies, whose favours Essex had formerly neglected. Elizabeth was highly incensed; for she was remarkably fond of her person; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, she allowed both her courtiers and foreign ambassadors to compliment her on her beauty: a preposterous vanity, which, notwithstanding all her good sense, she still retained!